

INTELLIGENT REPORT
ON

BENIN CITY
BY

H. F. MARSHALL

BENIN PROVINCE.



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INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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17082

INVESTIGATION REPORT

ON

DEATH CITY

BY H. W. MARSHALL

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AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT ON BENIN CITY

AND ITS ENVIRONS.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

SCOPE.

This report deals with Benin City and some closely connected villages which lie just outside its walls. The most important of these villages are Uselu where the Oba's mother and the Oba's eldest son, the Edaiken, live and Uzebu, the village of the Ezomo (Ojomo) of Benin. In former times each of the Uzama title-holders of whom there are seven, including the Edaiken and Ezomo, had such a village but since the advent of Government most of these Uzama villages have fallen into decay and the few houses which remain have become merged in a greater Benin stretching beyond the walls of the old city.

THE PEOPLE.

2. For some centuries the people of Benin have been divided into two classes, the Adesolu who were a ruling class and the Ivbiotu who were the artisan class. The majority of the latter were probably in origin slaves. Although there has been inter-marriage between the two classes, as a general rule the Adesotu are a bigger and physically better type than the Ivbiotu.

3. The Adesotu were mainly a class of courtiers, relying on the perquisites of office for their livelihood. As might be expected of such a class they lack any real public spirit.

4. With a Government School, several large Mission Schools and since 1937 a Middle School built by the Native Administration and staffed by Government, Benin City has been well served in the matter of education. There are probably very few men in Benin under the age of 25 who can not read, write and speak English. On the other hand there is only a very small highly educated class while there is a fairly large, and ever growing class who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently interested to read the Papers.

This report deals with Benin City and some closely connected villages which lie just outside its walls. The most important of these villages are Ugbu where the Oba's mother and the Oba's eldest son, the Eshien, live and Ugbu, the village of the Eshien (Ojomo) of Benin. In former times each of the Ugbu title-holders of whom there are seven, including the Eshien and Eshien, had such a village but since the advent of Government most of these Ugbu villages have fallen into decay and the few houses which remain have become merged in a greater Benin stretching beyond the walls of the old city.

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3. The Eshien were mainly a class of courtiers, relying on the perpetuation of office for their livelihood. As might be expected of such a class they lack any real public spirit.

4. With a Government school, several large mission schools and since 1937 a white school built by the Native Administration and staffed by Government, Benin City has been well served in the matter of education. There are probably very few men in Benin under the age of 25 who can not read, write and speak English. On the other hand there is only a very small highly educated class while there is a fairly large, and ever growing class who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently interested to read

THE "BENIN
COMMUNITY"

5. It is from this last class that the main backing of the party who are known as the Benin Community are drawn. In politics they are democratic but politics make strange bed-fellows and some of the most reactionary of the title-holders associate themselves with the "Benin Community".

6. So far as I have been able to discover the term "Benin Community" was first used in a petition addressed to Government shortly before the installation of the present Oba in 1933. Of the twenty-one signatories of that petition fifteen were traders and the rest were of the clerical class. After expressing loyalty to the Edaiken, as the Oba then was, the petitioners made various suggestions for the betterment of the administration and the removal of certain restriction. These suggestions were, in most cases, not unreasonable and with the exception of the suggestion that Chiefs should be appointed by ballot, were not revolutionary.

7. Most of the requests contained in this petition were granted and little more was heard of the Benin Community until the water-rate agitation started in 1937. This agitation not only altered the composition of the Benin Community but revealed a very changed attitude towards the Oba. What had before been a normal progressive party, now became the focus of all those who for one reason or another were dissatisfied with the present administration and the Oba in particular. Personal animosities and self interest were often behind the attacks which were levelled at the Oba.

8. But during the past year the position of the Benin Community has undergone another change. The water-rate agitation has died down with a corresponding decrease in the influence of the Benin Community. The views Expressed by the Benin Community on re-organisation are those rather of the comparatively small progressive party

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8. But during the past year the position of the Benin Community has undergone another change. The water-rate agitation has died down with a corresponding decrease in the influence of the Benin Community. The views expressed by the Benin Community on re-organisation and these views of the community will now be discussed.

rather than of the comparatively large party who supported them over the water-rate question. It must however be noted that much of the personal bitterness engendered by the water-rate dispute has found expression on the question of re-organisation.

COMPILATION
OF THE REPORT

9. In February, 1938, His Honour the Acting Chief Commissioner, Southern Provinces suggested at a public meeting that the Benin Community should write their own Intelligence Report. This was done but the report which they submitted was not sufficiently detailed to form a basis for re-organisation. A copy of the Benin Community's Report is attached to this report.

10. The information contained in the present report was collected at a series of meetings held at the Oba's Egware. These meetings were attended by the Oba, members of the three title-societies of the Adesotu, and representatives of the Benin Community. To these meetings representatives of each section of the community have come to explain their own position.

GLOSSARY.

11. The following local terms will be used in this report:-

Oba The hereditary paramount ruler of Benin.

Edaiken The eldest son of the Oba and heir apparent. (Note: The Oba's eldest son does not assume the title of Edaiken until the ceremony of showing him to the people has been performed. There after he goes to live in Uselu).

Uzama Hereditary title-holders of the highest grade.

Eghaevbo A generic term for the highest rank of title holders who are appointed by the Oba.

rather than of the comparatively large party the suggestion
them over the water-rate question. It must however be
noted that much of the personal statements mentioned by
the water-rate dispute has found expression on the
question of re-organisation.

COMPLAINT
OF THE REPORT

9. In February, 1958, His Honour the Acting Chief
Commissioner, Southern Provinces suggested at a public
meeting that the Benin Community should write their own
intelligence report. This was done but the report which
they submitted was not sufficiently detailed to form a
basis for re-organisation. A copy of the Benin Community's
Report is attached to this report.

10. The information contained in the present report
was collected at a series of meetings held at the Oba's
Palace. These meetings were attended by the Oba, members
of the three title-societies of the Adasote, and
representatives of the Benin Community. In these meetings
representatives of each section of the community have come
to explain their own position.

GOVERNMENT

11. The following local terms will be used in this

report:-

Oba The hereditary paramount ruler of
Benin.

Edaiken The eldest son of the Oba and heir
apparent. (Note: The Oba's eldest
son does not assume the title of
Edaiken until the ceremony of
showing him to the people has been
performed. Thereafter he goes to
live in Ugha).

Ugha Hereditary title-holders of the
highest grade.

Agbavbo A generic term for the highest
rank of title holders who are
appointed by the Oba.

Eghaevbo N' Oro Eghaevbo title-holders whose titles are attached to the town as opposed to the Palace.

Eghaevbo N'Ogbe .. . Eghaevbo title-holders whose titles are attached to the Palace.

Okhaime (PL:Ekhaime) Any title holder.

Iwebo The ~~senior~~ of the three society Palace societies.

Iweguae The 2nd of the Palace society

Ibiwe The junior palace society.

Adesotu A generic term for all persons who by birth or appointment are members of one of the three societies.

Ivbiotu A generic term for all citizens of Benin who were not by birth or appointment members of one of the societies.

Otu A guild.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE.

12. It will be recommended that Benin City and its environs should form a unit for administrative and judicial purposes with a council subordinate to the Native Authority for the whole Division. It will also be recommended that the area covered by this report should be a financial unit.

STRANGERS.

13. Within Benin City there are Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo communities but none of these are sufficiently large to deserve separate treatment.

CONSULTATION WITH THE PEOPLE.

14. The proposals for the future have been fully discussed at representative meetings. Divergencies of opinion are dealt with in the report.

Agbanvo W'oro ... Agbanvo title-holders whose

titles are attached to the

town as opposed to the

Palace.

Agbanvo W'oro ... Agbanvo title-holders whose

titles are attached to the

Palace.

Okhime (P: Okhime) Any title holder.

Iwebo ... The senior of the three

Palace societies.

Iweguae ... The 2nd of the Palace societies

Ibiwe ... The junior palace society.

Adasota ... A generic term for all

persons who by birth or

appointment are members of

one of the three societies.

Ivohon ... A generic term for all

citizens of Benin who were

not by birth or appointment

members of one of the

societies.

Otu ... A guild.

12. It will be recommended that Benin City and its

environs should form a unit for administrative and

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13. Within Benin City there are Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo

communities but none of these are sufficiently large to

deserve separate treatment.

14. The proposals for the future have been fully
discussed at representative meetings. Disagreements or
objections are dealt with in the report.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL.

AREA AND POPULATION

15. The area covered by this report is estimated at 8 square miles. According to the nominal rolls the adult male population is shown as 2459 giving an estimated population of 8852. The present nominal rolls, however, can not be taken as an accurate guide. The Oba, himself estimates the total population as 20,000 but this figure is in my opinion too high and I should be inclined to put it at 13,000. I base this figure on the fact that there are over 2,000 tenements assessed for water rate and these tenements hold on an average at least six persons. Taking 13,000 as the estimated population the density works out at 162.5 to the square mile. The distribution of this population is approximately as follows:-

<u>Unit.</u>	<u>Adult Males.</u>	<u>Total Population.</u>
Benin City	3165	11,395
Uselu	250	900
Uzebu	180	650
Urubi	<u>15</u>	<u>55</u>
Total	<u>3,610</u>	<u>13,000</u>

BOUNDARIES.

16. The area covered by this report is bounded on the East by the Ikpoba, on the south and south-west by the old wall which surrounded the City of Benin. To the north-west and north the area extends outside the city wall to include the Uzama villages and then returns to the city wall as its boundary on the north-west.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

17. Benin City is situated on a level plateau above and to the west of the Ikpoba valley. The soil is Benin sand. It is an important road centre. The main East and West road from Onitsha to Ibadan, enters the city over the Ikpoba bridge and bending to the north passes through the Uzama village of Uselu. A Public Works Department road runs from Benin to Sapele which is the 'port' for Benin

II. UNDEVELOPED

15. The area covered by this report is estimated at 8 square miles. According to the nominal rolls the adult male population is shown as 2459 giving an estimated population of 8825. The present nominal rolls, however, can not be taken as an accurate guide. The Obe, himself estimates the total population as 20,000 but this figure is in my opinion too high and I should be inclined to put it at 15,000. I base this figure on the fact that there are over 2,000 tenements assessed for water rate and these tenements hold on an average at least six persons. Taking 15,000 as the estimated population the density works out at 182.5 to the square mile. The distribution of this population is approximately as follows:-

Unit.	Adult Males.	Total Population.
Benin City	3185	11,395
Uasin	250	900
Ukoba	180	650
Urodi	15	55
Total	3,610	13,000

16. The area covered by this report is bounded on the East by the Ikoba, on the south and south-west by the old wall which surrounded the City of Benin. To the north-west and north the area extends outside the city wall to include the Uasin villages and then returns to the city wall as its boundary on the north-west.

17. Benin City is situated on a level plateau above and to the west of the Ikoba valley. The wall of Benin is an important road centre. The main road runs from Benin to Ibadan, enters the city over the Ikoba bridge and bending to the north passes through the Uasin village of Uasin. A public works department road runs from Benin to Ibadan which is the 'port' for Benin.

City. There is also a public works Department road to Ogba where there is a Government Agricultural Station. The Native Administration maintain roads to Siluko to the north-west and Ekenwan to the south-west. Benin city thus taps the bulk of the trade, not only of the whole Benin Division but of parts of the Ishan Division and the Owo Division of the Ondo Province.

III. HISTORICAL.

18. In this report I propose only to deal with the History of the Benin Kingdom in so far as it affected the development of Benin City. A fairly full history of Benin was contained in an Intelligence Report compiled by Mr. H. I. Hevins, District Officer, in 1924 and it has also been dealt with in various published works, notably "Great Benin, its Customs, Arts and History", by H. Ling Roth.

THE CREATION.

19. According to Bini tradition Ife, locally known as Ufe, was the cradle of the human race and was the only land in the world. Ododuwa, the first king of Ife, possessed a snail shell which had the magical power of creating earth. Shortly before his death Ododuwa called his seven sons and, giving to each of them a portion of the "medicine" from the magical snail-shell, sent them out to form the inhabited world. One of Ododuwa's sons was called Obanigodo and on receiving his share from the magical snail-shell he set out with his followers to the south-east. Creating land as he went, he finally reached the present site of Benin and there he and his followers settled down and gave the place the name of Ugodo N'Igoda. Certain of the present inhabitants of Benin claim to trace their descent from this first migration.

20. It should be noted that certain of the intelligencia are no longer prepared to accept this traditional story but claim that the original inhabitants came straight from Egypt: there is no tradition and even less evidence on which they can base this claim. On the

City. There is also a public works Department road to Oba where there is a Government Agricultural Station. The Native Administration maintain roads to Sili to the north-west and Ikemman to the south-west. Benin city thus taps the bulk of the trade, not only of the whole Benin Division but of parts of the Ibadan Division and the Oyo Division of the Ondo Province.

III. HISTORICAL.

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other hand there is the undoubted fact that linguistic experts are agreed that the Edo language is unconnected with Yoruba and certain Edo villages, notably Udo and certain of the Isi villages, have their own story of the creation which appear to have nothing to do with Ife. The story of the creation given above probably refers only to a ruling class who came from Ife and found here an earlier race of whose origin nothing is known.

THE OGISO PERIOD.

21. The descendants of Obanigodo are said to have ruled in Ugodo M'Igodo, the name was later changed to Ile, for many generations. Their names, however, are not remembered except for the last of the line who was known as Ogiso. The whole period is commonly referred to as the Ogiso period.

22. According to tradition, although Ogiso had very many wives he had only one son who was called Kaladeran. His wives persuaded Ogiso to consult an oracle to discover the cause of their barrenness. He sent his senior wife to the oracle and when she returned she reported that Kaladeran was the cause and that the oracle had said that he must be killed. Yielding to the persuasion of his wives, Ogiso finally agreed that Kaladeran should be killed but gave secret instructions to the executioners that he should be spared provided that he did not return to Benin. Kaladeran gave the necessary undertaking and after wandering in the bush settled down and formed the village of Ughoton.

23. In spite of the supposed death of Kaladeran Ogiso's wives still failed to produce a son and second and larger deputation was sent to consult the oracle. It was then revealed that the oracle had never accused Kaladeran at all but had accused the senior wife. She was immediately killed and a message was sent to Kaladeran asking him to return but he refused and Ogiso died without an heir.

other hand there is the undoubted fact that linguistic experts are agreed that the Edo language is unconnected with Yoruba and certain Edo villages, notably Udo and certain of the Iba villages, have their own story of the creation which appear to have nothing to do with life. The story of the creation given above probably refers only to a ruling class who came from life and found here an earlier race of whose origin nothing is known.

THE OGISO PERIOD.

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26. In spite of the supposed death of Kalabaran Ogiso's wives still failed to produce a son and second and larger deputation was sent to consult the oracle. It was then revealed that the oracle had never accused Kalabaran at all but had accused the senior wife. She was immediately killed and a messenger was sent to Kalabaran asking him to return but he refused and Ogiso died without an heir.

The Inter-
Regnum.

24. It seems probable that at this time Ile consisted of a number of scattered hamlets situated between the present site of Benin and the Ikpoba River, and that each of these hamlets was under the control of its elders. After the death of Ogiso the one unifying force had gone and a state of internicine war broke out between the hamlets. At last some of the elders decided to ask the Oni of Ife, locally called the Oghene Uhe, to send a son to rule over them. This policy was, however, opposed by Envian, the most powerful of the elders, and perhaps by others. It is said that Envian sent to the ferry-men at the Ovia (Osse) and instructed them that they were not to allow anyone from Ife to cross the river and that the first two sons sent by the Oni of Ife were drowned by these ferry-men when crossing the river.

25. The Oni was finally persuaded to send his third son, Agamiyan or Oramiyan. He was wiser than his brothers and did not attempt to come to Ile direct but settled first at Usehin to the west of the Ovia. The elders who had sent for him went to meet him at Usehin and it was probably Agamiyan who conferred on them the Yoruba titles which are now known as the Uzama titles. There were five of them in number and the title conferred on them were Oliha, Edohen, Ezomo (Ojomo), Ero and Eholor. Agamiyan also conferred the title of Oloton on his own brother who had accompanied him from Ife.

26. It should be noted that the Uzama title-holders claim that their titles date from the Ogiso period but if this were the case it is difficult to understand why only some of the elders held Yoruba titles while others who were at least as important, particularly Envian, did not. It seems much more probable that the elders who supported Agamiyan were rewarded by titles while those who opposed him naturally received no titles.

27. While at Usehin Agamiyan took to himself a wife

24. It seems probable that at this time the control of a number of scattered hamlets situated between the present site of Benin and the Iyoba River, and that each of these hamlets was under the control of its elders. After the death of Ogie the one uniting force had gone and a state of interminable war broke out between the hamlets. At last some of the elders decided to ask the Oni of Ife, locally called the Oghene Uba, to send a son to rule over them. This policy was, however, opposed by Ewarian, the most powerful of the elders, and perhaps by others. It is said that Ewarian sent to the ferry-men at the Ovia (Oase) and instructed them that they were not to allow anyone from Ife to cross the river and that the first two sons sent by the Oni of Ife were drowned by these ferry-men when crossing the river.

25. The Oni was finally persuaded to send his third son, Agamiyan or Oramiyan. He was wiser than his brothers and did not attempt to come to Ife direct but settled first at Ushin to the west of the Ovia. The elders who had sent for him went to meet him at Ushin and it was probably Agamiyan who conferred on them the Yoruba titles which are now known as the Urama titles. There were five of them in number and the title conferred on them were Ogha, Ebohen, Esono (Ojomo), Ebo and Ebohor. Agamiyan also conferred the title of Olofin on his own brother who had accompanied him from Ife.

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27. While at Ushin Agamiyan took to himself a wife.

called Erimide from Egoh, a village near Ile. According to the story Agamiyan, having first bribed the ferry-men then moved towards Ile and got as far as Uzama just to the north-west of the present city wall. There he was crowned and settled down surrounded by his supporters, the Uzama. The greater part of the country under the leadership of Envian still refused to recognise him and even his own supporters were so truculent that he decided that only one of themselves could rule over them and decided to go back to Ife having first re-named the country Ile-binu a name which, corrupted to Benin, stuck sufficiently long to become known to the early European explorers, although to the native themselves it has been known as Edo since the reign of Oba Eware (circa 1440).

28. Agamiyan left behind him his wife Erimide who at the time of his departure was pregnant. Agamiyan said that she would bare him a son and this child, being himself half Bini, should rule over the people. Although Agamiyan is supposed to have been crowned at Usama he is not generally included in the list of Obas.

THE EARLY
OBAS.

29. After the departure of Agamiyan his wife gave birth to a son as he had predicted. It is said that this child was born dumb but that when he was a boy he was playing the game known as "Akhue" with other boys and in the excitement of winning the game he suddenly exclaimed "Owomika" meaning "I succeed". He was nick-named Owomika which later was corrupted to Eweka and he was crowned under that name as Usama.

30. Eweka and the two succeeding Obas remained at Usama surrounded by the Uzamas who treated them more as equals than as Kings. The greater part of the people, living on the banks of the Ikpoba river still did not recognise the Oba's authority.

EWEDO AND THE
ENTRY TO

31. The fourth Oba was called Ewedo and it was during his reign that the immediate neighbourhood was brought under the control of the Oba and that the Oba

called Krimide from Krim, a village near Ibe. According to the story Agamiyan, having first bribed the ferry-man then moved towards Ibe and got as far as Usama just to the north-west of the present city wall. There he was crowned and settled down surrounded by his supporters, the Usama. The greater part of the country under the leadership of Ibe-yan still refused to recognise him and even his own supporters were so distrustful that he decided that only one of themselves could rule over them and decided to go back to Ibe having first re-named the country Ibe-yan a name which, corrupted to Benin, stuck sufficiently long to become known to the early European explorers, although to the native themselves it has been known as Edo since the reign of Oba Ewe (circa 1440).

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31. The fourth Obi was called Eweka and it was during his reign that the immediate neighbourhood was brought under the control of the Obi and that the Obi

THE EARLY
OBAS.

removed into what is now known as Benin. It is said that at that time Ogiame, the son of Envian was the principal leader of the party who did not recognise the Oba. Ewedo entered into a secret agreement with Ogiame by which Ogiame agreed, in return for certain privileges, to betray his own party and to grant to the Oba land which had previously been in Ogiame's possession. In order to save his face, Ogiame arranged to put up some resistance to the Oba's forces, but then to capitulate. Battle was joined but after two of the Ogiame's lieutenants had been killed, Ogiame retreated and sued for terms. An agreement was reached where-by the Oba took possession of a site near the present Eguae. A boundary was fixed between the Oba's land and the Ogiame's land at a market known as Ekiokpagha which was near the present site of St. Matthews Church. A juju was sworn and Ewedo undertook that every Oba, on his installation, should give to the Ogiame two men, two women and two of every kind of cattle and also should give permission to the Ogiame to rule beyond the boundary at Ekiokpagba. Up to the present time, on the installation of the Oba, a mock battle is fought with Ogiame, the prescribed gifts are given and the Ogiame is given permission to rule though it would seem that since the time of Oba Ewuaare the Ogiame has not in fact exercised any administrative functions.

32. Having removed from Usama, Ewedo had achieved his main objective. He had obtained the submission of the whole of Benin and had removed himself from the midst of his unruly supporters. So unruly had these supporters become that Ewedo had nick-named them "Eza-mo" meaning "They do not respect." This is said to be the origin of the term Uzama which is applied to the Yoruba title holders. Having removed to Benin Ewedo decided to consolidate his position against the Uzamaz. Hitherto they had treated him as an equal, had sat down with him and had not even bothered to salute him, but when they

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32. Having removed from Usuma, Ewedu had achieved his main objective. He had obtained the submission of the whole of Benin and had removed himself from the midst of his unruly supporters. So unruly had these supporters become that Ewedu had nick-named them "Ewe-wo" meaning "They do not respect." This is said to be the origin of the term Usuma which is applied to the Yoruba title holders. Having removed to Benin Ewedu decided to consolidate his position against the Usumas. Hitherto they had treated him as an equal, had sat down with him and had not even bothered to salute him, but when they

first came to see him in his new surroundings they found him sitting with a juju on either side of him. Fearing the ju-jus they saluted them in the traditional manner that is by clapping their clenched right fist into their left palm and then thrusting it out towards the ju-ju. Since that time this is the form of salute always accorded to the Oba title holders. Fearing the jujus they also remained standing while addressing the Oba, another mark of respect which is still accorded to him.

33. Ewedo is also said to have established the Iyashere and Esogban titles. Unlike the Uzama titles these titles were not hereditary and were in the gift of the Oba so that the Oba could expect the holders to these titles to give him loyal support and to act as a foil to the Uzamas. Although the Uzamas rank as the senior class of title-holer, the Iyashere became his principal adviser and the most important title-holder in Benin.

34. I have gone into some detail in outlining this early period in the history of Benin as an understanding of it is necessary to explain certain apparent anomalies in the administrative system. It explains why the Uzamas, the senior rank of title holders live outside Benin and play a less important part in the administration of Benin than do the other grades of title-holders and it also explains how it is that the Oba who is generally accepted as the "owner" of the land pays certain dues on his succession to the Ogiame and to certain other persons who present the original owners of the land. Ownership of land is so closely connected with fertility that it can not be acquired either by conquest or by peaceful penetration. The ju-ju which keeps the land fertile must be served and this can only be done by the hereditary priests of the ju-ju who usually represent the original owners of the land. In Benin there are several such priests particularly Ojioba who claims to be descended from the person who carried the snail-shell from Ife, Enyian.

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Envian, Ogiame and the three Efa priests. These priests, although they took no particular part in the administration, were and still are of great importance as upon them depends the fertility of the land.

OBA EWUARE. 35. During the reigns of the next seven Obas the influence of the Obas was gradually extended but no events of importance took place in Benin itself. It is said Ewedo's successor, Oguola, built the outer wall mainly as a defence against Udo which at that time was the principal rival to Benin.

36. In the middle of the fifteenth century there came to the throne Oba Ewuare, who is generally regarded as the greatest of all the Obas and it is from his reign that modern Benin may be said to date.

37. It is said that during the life time of his father, Ogun, who afterwards became Ewuare, and his younger brother Uwaifiokun, were banished from the city. During this period of banishment Ogun wandered not only throughout the world but also visited heaven. On the death of his father Ogun sent his younger brother Uwaifiokun to Benin to discover whether the elders wished him to return but, on arrival at Benin, Uwaifiokun usurped the position of Oba. Ogun came to Benin and having murdered his brother burnt the town, but was afterwards made Oba under the name of Ewuare or Owo-ruare meaning "It is cool" or "The trouble has finished". He constructed the inner wall and laid out the town on a new plan. It was divided into two parts by a street known as Akpakpava. This street entered the city by the Uzebu gate and, following the line of the present Ekenwan road, passed through the present fort and followed the line of the Sapoba road. The area to the south-west of this road was known as Ogbe, the Royal quarter, while the area to the north-east of the road was known as Orenokwa. (Ore = a cleared space in front of a house; nokwa - large).

38. The Usama title holders were still outside the

city ..

Benin, Oyo and the three Ewe states. These states, although they took no particular part in the administration, were and still are of great importance as upon them depends the fertility of the land.

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Akpekpa. This street entered the city by the Udo gate and, following the line of the present Eweare road, passed through the present fort and followed the line of the Eweare road. The area to the south-west of this road was known as Odo, the royal quarter, while the area to the north-east of the road was known as Oromokun. (Oromokun is a cleared space in front of a house; Oromokun - house).

38. The Udo gate holders were still outside the

City, while the grade of title-holders started by Ewedo came to live in Ore-nokwa. It would appear that, just as in the time of the early Obas the Uzamas had become over powerful, now the new title-holders were becoming a menace to the Obas power. Ewuare, however, decided to take the sons of the principal elders in Ore-nokwa and from them to create a Court-party who would live round him in Ogbe. Hitherto personal service to the Oba had been done by slaves, but Ewuare succeeded in creating the Iwebo society, composed of the sons of free-born citizens, and gave them certain functions in the palace. He conferred on some of them titles and gradually a distinction was drawn between title-holders in the palace and title-holders in the town, the former being known as Eghaevbo-n'ogbe and the latter as Eghaevbo-n'ore.

39. To Ewuare also is attributed the organisation of Benin on a guild system, though certain of the guilds claim a much earlier origin.

OBA OZOLUA.

40. The next two reigns were without events of importance but about 1481 Oba Ozolua succeeded. He had been banished and had founded the villages of the Ora Clan in the Ishan Division. On his return to Benin he found both the town and the Benin territory in a state of revolt but with the help of his followers from Ora and of certain loyal sections in Benin he subdued first the town and then the whole of the Benin territories. His reign is principally of importance for two events: the founding of the Iweguae Society, and the arrival of the first European in Benin, Alfonso d'Aveiro.

OBA ESIGIE.

41. Ozolua was succeeded by Esigie during whose reign there were two major wars, the one against Udo where the Oba's brother Aruaran had established himself, and other against the Atta of Idda, in both of which the Oba was ultimately successful. It is said that Esigie's son, who became Oba Orhogbua was educated in Portugal, but a more popularly received story is that he visited Portugal

City, while the grade of title-holders started by Ewebo came to live in Ode-nokwa. It would appear that, just as in the time of the early Oba the Umas had become over powerful, now the new title-holders were becoming a menace to the Oba power. Ewebo, however, decided to take the sons of the principal elders in Ode-nokwa and from them to create a Court-party who would live round him in Ode. Hiserto personal service to the Oba had been done by slaves, but Ewebo succeeded in creating the Iwebo society, composed of the sons of free-born citizens, and gave them certain functions in the palace. He conferred on some of them titles and gradually a distinction was drawn between title-holders in the palace and title-holders in the town, the former being known as Eghavbo-n'ogbe and the latter as Eghavbo-n'ore.

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Oba Ozoia

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Oba Ewebo

41. Ozoia was succeeded by Ewebo during whose reign there were two major wars, the one against Udo where the Oba's brother Aruan had established himself, and other against the Aka of Ido, in both of which the Oba was ultimately successful. It is said that Ewebo's son, who became Oba Orhogbo was educated in Portugal, but a more popularly received story is that he visited Portugal

after he became Oba.

42. It was probably about this time that the Benin Kingdom reached the hay-day of its power, its influence extending from Lagos on the west to the Niger on the east. It is not necessary to recount here the traditional deeds of all the Obas a list of whom is given in Appendix 'A'. Early in the eighteenth century, in the reign of Oba Akenzua, the third of the great societies, the Ibiwe society, was formed from the descendants of the Oras who had come with Oba Ozolua. It was also from this reign that succession was made to pass to the eldest son only. Hitherto any son had been capable of succeeding to an hereditary title.

43. In 1892 a trade treaty was concluded between the Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Oba Ovonrame. It was because the terms of this treaty were not being adhered to that Acting Consul-General Phillips decided to visit Benin with nine other Europeans and 280 carriers. This was in January 1897. The party was ambushed and massacred on the way from Ughoton (Gwatto) to Benin. In February a punitive expedition left for Benin and had captured the city by the 17th of that month. The Oba and many of the principal title-holders had fled. The whole of the Benin Territories were annexed to the Niger Coast Protectorate and the administration was handed over to the civil power on the 15th of March.

HISTORY
UNDER
GOVERNMENT.

44. The position then was that the Niger Coast Protectorate were in control of Benin City and the country to the south of it. It was also nominally in control of all the country which had owed allegiance to the Oba but the extent of the territories involved was unknown and these territories had not yet been brought under control. In the meanwhile the Oba and the principal title-holders were still at large.

45. The policy which was pursued was to invite these title-holders and the subject villages to come in and make

after he became Oba.

42. It was probably about this time that the Benin Kingdom reached the hey-day of its power, its influence extending from Lagos on the west to the Niger on the east. It is not necessary to recount here the traditional deeds of all the Obas a list of whom is given in Appendix 'A'. Early in the eighteenth century, in the reign of Oba Akemusa, the third of the great societies, the Ibiwe society, was formed from the descendants of the Obas who had come with Oba Oroni. It was also from this reign that succession was made to pass to the eldest son only. Hitherto any son had been capable of succeeding to an hereditary title.

43. In 1892 a trade treaty was concluded between the Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate and the Oba Ovonramwe. It was because the terms of this treaty were not being adhered to that Acting Consul-General Phillips decided to visit Benin with nine other Europeans and 280 carriers. This was in January 1897. The party was ambushed and massacred on the way from Ughoton (Gwatto) to Benin. In February a punitive expedition left for Benin and had captured the city by the 17th of that month. The Oba and many of the principal title-holders had fled. The whole of the Benin Territories were annexed to the Niger Coast Protectorate and the administration was handed over to the civil power on the 15th of March.

44. The position then was that the Niger Coast Protectorate were in control of Benin City and the country to the south of it. It was also nominally in control of all the country which had owed allegiance to the Oba but the extent of the territories involved was unknown and these territories had not yet been brought under control. In the meanwhile the Oba and the principal title-holders were still at large.

45. The policy which was pursued was to invite these title-holders and the subject villages to come in and make

HISTORY
UNDER
GOVERNMENT.

their submission. Somewhere to the west was the sphere of influence of the Lagos Colony administration, while to the north and east was the sphere of influence of the Royal Niger Company. It seems, though the point is not clear, that on making their submission the villages were expected to pay a fine of farm produce to stone for the part that they had played in the massacre. This, no doubt, caused some of the remoter villages to deny their allegiance to the Oba and to sign agreement with one of the alternative Government.

46. Immediately after the Expedition it was decided to establish a Native Council composed of the more important title-holders who had made their submission. The people appointed to this council in the order of their appointment were Oshodin and Osague in June, Ehondor and Obahiagbon in July and Iyashere, Arase, Osula, Ehi and Ero in September 1897. The last four were probably appointed after the Oba had made his submission and been deported to Calabar.

47. The Council, sitting with the Resident as President, exercised both administrative and judicial functions.

48. In the meanwhile certain of the title-holders remained at large, notably the Ologboshere and Ebohon who had formed an armed camp near Ehor, and who successfully blocked access to the Ishan country for two years. In 1899 a punitive expedition was lead against them and they were both captured and the Ologboshere was tried and executed for the part he had played in the Benin Massacre.

49. It will be better to deal with subsequent administrative and judicial development under those respective heads. Here it is only necessary to note that the history of Benin since the advent of Government has been generally peaceful and that in 1914, on the death of Oba Ovonrame in exile, it was decided to apoint his son as Oba and he was duly crowned as Oba Eweka II.

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IV. ADMINISTRATIVE.

ANCIENT SYSTEM.

50. The administrative system in Benin as it existed prior to the advent of Government is said to owe its origin to the reforms introduced by Oba Ewuare in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the succeeding four and a half centuries there were, of course, developments and innovations but the basic organisation remained unchanged.

51. The citizens of Benin fell into two distinct classes, the nobility (Adesotu), from whom all the high officers of state were drawn, and the common people (Ivbiotu). The nobility were organised into three Societies, known as Iwebo, Iweguae and Ibiwe, each of which had certain functions to perform in the palace, while the common people were organised in a number of guilds, each guild serving the Oba according to its trade or calling. These guilds, of which there were more than fifty, were geographical and administrative units, the council of the guild being responsible for the administration of the guild. The members of the nobility usually lived in certain parts of the town which were set aside for them and took no direct part in the administration of the guilds. They were more closely concerned with the affairs of the palace and with matters of state.

THE GUILDS.

52. The basic of the guild system was that the guild was formed to supply some need of the Oba's to enumerate but a few of them there was the brass-workers guild which supplied all objects of brass required by the palace, there were the black-smiths and the carpenters and the leather-workers and the doctors and the store-keepers; there were the drummers and the dancers, the leopard-hunters and the butchers and many more, but the largest class of all were the guilds whose function it was to make sacrifice to one of the many jujus with which ancient Benin abounded. In return for these services to Oba

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each guild was given a monopoly in its particular trade or craft, so that they were guilds in the proper sense of the term.

53. As new needs arose new guilds would be formed, usually by the emancipation of slaves, though in some cases free-men would be taken to form a new guild. Once a guild had been formed it was run mainly on a family basis, that is to say that a son automatically became a member of his father's guild. Transfer between guilds was, however, permitted and in certain cases was usual. For example, if a man from the leather-workers' guild married a wife from the black-smiths guild and had many sons by her, he would probably put one of his sons in the black-smiths' guild as a mark of respect of his wife. When that son grew up and had sons of his own he might put one of them into the leather-workers' guild as a mark of respect to his father. Some guilds were of course more profitable, and therefore more popular than others and these guilds would never lack recruits, but where the strength of a guild was declining, the Oba could always remedy the position by emancipating slaves and adding them to the guild.

54. Originally each guild was organised on an age-grade basis, there were usually only two grades known as Enola and Edion, but, probably long before the advent of Government, age as a basis for promotion had gone and purchase had taken its place. At the present time a man can buy Edion status for his infant son though the child can not perform the necessary ceremonies until he comes of age.

55. In some of the guilds, in addition to the Edion there were one or more title-holders. These title-holders were only of importance in their own guild and must not be confused with the title-holders in the three great Societies. Some of these titles were hereditary but more often they were appointed by the Oba from the members of the guild .../

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The guild. The council of the guild consisted of the title-holders and the Edion, but where there was no ~~little~~, the head of the guild was either the Odionwele, the senior member of the Edion grade, or, in some cases an Okao, a man appointed by the Oba who did not rank as a tittled man.

56. A list of the guild which at present exist is given in Appendix 'B', while notes on them, giving the names of titles held in each guild, are contained in Appendix 'C'.

THE SOCIETIES.

57. Above and separated from these guilds were the three great societies. It is important to notice that these were essentially palace societies, each society having its own apartment in the palace and each society being responsible for a special branch of the Oba's household. It would seem that they had their origin in an attempt by the Oba to build up a palace party as opposed to the town party. But what ever may have been the origin of these societies they developed into 'title-holder clubs' the members of which took a share of the title-fees paid by new members. The children of members were themselves regarded as honorary members of their father's society but were not admitted to the privileges of membership until they had been initiated and had paid their initiation fees. Membership of a society was not restricted to sons of members but was open to any free-born citizen of Benin. Application for membership would be made to the Oba who would consult the head of the Society, and also the head of the applicant's own guild. It must of course be remembered that entry to one of these societies was an expensive undertaking and that in a primitive community the head of the family holds the purse strings. A father would be reluctant to see his son become a member of a society until he had reached a fairly advanced age as once the son joined society the father lost his control over him.

58. The Societies themselves were organised into

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senior member of the Edon grade, or, in some cases an
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58. The societies themselves were organized into

grades, usually five in number, the three junior grades carrying with them no titles, the two senior being restricted to title-holders. The names of the three junior grades were Ibierugha, Odofen (Odion in the Ibiwe Society) and Ukor. Promotion through these grades was merely a matter of purchase. Once a man had become 'Ukor' he was entitled to dress his hair in a special fashion known as 'Igwakpata'. The hair is dressed so that it stands straight up on the forehead and forms a 'tiara' of hair.

59. Promotion beyond the Ukor grade depended on taking a title, the gift of which was in the hands of the Oba. Attached to each of the Societies there were a number of traditional titles which would be filled by members of the society as they fell vacant. In addition the Oba had the right to create new titles and attach them to a certain society. As all vacancies were filled by the Oba, promotion depended on winning his favour.

60. The Oba could confer a title in one society on a member of another society or even on a person who was not yet a member of any society, but before the candidate could take up the title he must become a member of the society to which the title was attached and must pay the fees of all the grades in that society up to the grade in which his title was held. It was forbidden for a person who had been initiated in the Iweguae society ever to leave it. If a title in one of the other societies was conferred on a member of Iweguae, he would put his son in the society to which the title was attached.

61. Seniority among title-holders of the same grade usually depended on the seniority of the Oba who created the title, but this rule applied only to the first new title created by the Oba in that grade. That is to say that the first title created by the present Oba in any grade would rank higher than a second title created by any previous Oba in the same grade. For example, suppose that

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Oba Ovonrame created three titles, A, B And C in the Ekhaime n'Iweguae grade and that Eweka II created two, D and E and the present Oba three, F, G, and H. The order of seniority will be as follows:

1. A. Oba Ovonrame
2. B. Oba Eweka II
3. F. Oba Akenzuwa II
4. B. Oba Ovonrame
5. C. Oba Ovonrame
6. E. Oba Eweka
7. G. Oba Akenzuwa II
8. H. Oba Akenzuwa II.

62. It is said, however, that the Oba can buy seniority for any title, either created by himself ~~Or~~ by a predecessor. Purchase of seniority in this way seems to have been rare until recent times, but is now becoming comparatively common.

THE IWEBO
SOCIETY.

63. The senior of the three Societies is the Iwebo Society. The story goes that Ewuare brought back from his travels when in exile a new form of bead known as Ivie Ewuare. He asked the important men of the town to send their sons to the palace to learn how to make and string these beads. At first the town's people were afraid to send their sons but sent instead their slaves. These slaves, who were lead by a man called Eriyo, were given an apartment in the palace and there learnt their new trade. The Oba then sent for the senior men of the town and paraded before them these bead-makers dressed in the fine new bead dresses. The people were much impressed and revealed that these were not their sons but their slaves. It was these sons of the town's men who became the Iwebo Society. The Oba gave some of them titles, and also gave the apartments in the palace. In course of time the Iwebo society became responsible for the Oba's regalia. At the present time there are nine apartments in Iwebo as

follows:-

Oba Ovwurame created three titles, A, B and C in the
Khalima n'iwurame grade and that Ewaka II created two, D
and E and the present Oba three, F, G, and H. The order of
seniority will be as follows:-

1. A. Oba Ovwurame
2. B. Oba Ewaka II
3. F. Oba Akemurwa II
4. H. Oba Ovwurame
5. C. Oba Ovwurame
6. E. Oba Ewaka
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83. The senior of the three Societies is the Iwodo
Society. The story goes that Ewaka brought back from his
travels when in exile a new form of head known as Iwido
Ewaka. He asked the important men of the town to send
their sons to the palace to learn how to make and string
these beads. At first the town's people were afraid to
send their sons but sent instead their slaves. These
slaves, who were led by a man called Ewaka, were given an
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Iwodo society became responsible for the Oba's regalia.
At the present time there are nine apartments in Iwodo as
follows:-

THE IWODO
SOCIETY.

follows:-

Ewevien created by Oba Ewuare

Iwenekwa	"	"	Ozoluwa
Iweribo	"	"	Esigie
Iwosa	"	"	Eresoyen
Iwojomo	"	"	Akengbuda
Iwenene	"	"	Obanosa
Iwaduwa	"	"	Osemwede
Iwegie	"	"	Akenzua II
Iwenogbon	"	"	Ehengbuda.

It is said that Ewevien was the apartment created for Eriyo, the slave, though it is the senior apartment the head of the apartment is not the senior member of the Iwebo society, nor is the title of Eriyo in the senior title grade. A dispute as to seniority arose between Uwangue the senior title-holder of Iwenekwa and Eribo, the senior title-holder of Iweribo but this dispute was settled in favour of Uwangue in the time of Esigie, and since that time the holder of the Uwangue title has been the head of the Iwebo society. The Iwenegbon apartment should have ranked fourth, it is said that its founder, Oba Ehengbuda wished it to be senior and consulted the diviners of Ewaise with that object in view, but four times the diviners said that it should be last so that the Iwenegbon apartment is always the most junior apartment. Titles created Obas who did not themselves create a separate apartment are affiliated to the Iwenekwa apartment.

64. In Iwebo there are three title-grades Eghaevbo n'Ogbe, Uregakpa, and Ogie Ukor n'Iwebo.

65. The Eghaevbo titles held in each of the apartment are as follows:-

Ewevien	None
Iwenekwa	Uwangue
	Isasoyen
	Obamariaye
	Ovienrioba

Iweribo	Eribo
Iwosa	Osague
Iwojomo	Aiyobahan
Iwenene	Glaiya
Iwasduwa	Obaduagbon
Iwegie	Aiwerioba
Iwenegbon	None.

66. The Uregekpa grade is ^{Peculiar} ~~peculiar~~ to the Iwebo society. It is said that, during the reign of Ewuare, the people of Benin were much troubled by a rain-bow at the foot of which there were two great beasts which devoured the people of Benin. At last the Oba sent a messenger to the supreme God asking for his assistance. ~~The~~ messenger returned with a message that the God would come and visit the Oba on a certain date. The Oba at once set a gang of men on to build a house for the God opposite his own house. While these men were working on the house a stranger arrived and stood and watched them, presently he came forward and showed them where to put the pegs for the house and started to help them with the work. After a time the Oba came out and seeing the stranger asked him who he was and the stranger replied that he was Ihaza, the messenger of the Gods. The Oba ordered him to be lodged and in due course Ihaza caused the beasts that were troubling the city to be destroyed and he then returned to heaven, but since that time the Oba has always created an Ihaza title and made him the head of the Uregakpa, who are supposed to represent the people who looked after the original Ihaza. (Note:- There are so many stories of supernatural happenings in the time of Oba Ewuare, that it seems probable that some calamity, such as an earthquake or a thunder bolt, did over-come Benin in his reign. It is significant that the Osa, the priest of the ju-ju worshipped by black-smiths, is said to have fallen from heaven during the time of Ewuare. A thunder-bolt might also explain the great fire which is said to have been started by Ewuare

Iweribbo	Iweribbo
Iwona	Iwona
Iwojomo	Iwojomo
Iwerona	Iwerona
Iwaduwa	Iwaduwa
Iwagie	Iwagie
Iwenegbon	Iwenegbon
Iwona	Iwona

66. The Ureghpa grade is higher to the Iwona society. It is said that, during the reign of Iwona, the people of Benin were much troubled by a rain-bow at the foot of which there were two great beasts which devoured the people of Benin. At last the Oba sent a messenger to the supreme God asking for his assistance. The messenger returned with a message that the God would come and visit the Oba on a certain date. The Oba at once set a party of men on to build a house for the God opposite his own house. While these men were working on the house a stranger arrived and stood and watched them, presently he came forward and showed them where to put the pegs for the house and started to help them with the work. After a time the Oba came out and seeing the stranger asked him who he was and the stranger replied that he was Iwona, the messenger of the Gods. The Oba ordered him to be lodged and in due course Iwona caused the beasts that were troubling the city to be destroyed and he then returned to heaven, but since that time the Oba has always created an Iwona title and made him the head of the Ureghpa, who are supposed to represent the people who looked after the original Iwona. (Note:- There are no many stories of supernatural happenings in the time of Oba Iwona, but it seems probable that some calamity, such as an earthquake or a thunder bolt, did over-come Benin in his reign. It is significant that the Oba, the priest of the 10-10 worshipped by Iwona-Iwona, is said to have fallen from heaven during the time of Iwona. A thunder-bolt might also explain the great fire which is said to have been started by Iwona

himself).

67. Not all the Uregakpa titles are held in Iwebo, some of them being held in Iweguae. The list is as follows:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>Society.</u>
Ihaza	Iwebo
Obazoriaye	Iwebo
Oghator	Iweguae or Iwebo
Ehioba	Iwebo
Obarisiuwa	Iwebo
Eranuwen	Iweguae
Aghahan	Iwebo
Agona	Iwebo
Oshian	Iwebo
Obasisagbon	Iwebo
Uwogo	Iweguae.

Although the Ihaza is not properly an Eghaevbo title-holder his position is one of great important in Benin.

68. The third and junior grade of title-holders in Iwebo is known as Ogie Ukor n'Iwebi. A list of the titles of this grade is given in Appendix 'D'.

THE IWEGUAE SOCIETY

69. The second society, Iweguae, was created by Oba Ozoluwa and was given charge of the OBA's private apartment and personal attendants. Unlike Iwebo they had only one apartment for the whole society. There are two title-grades known as Eghaevbo n'Ogbe and Ekhaime.

70. The Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles in this society are as follows:-

<u>Title.</u>	<u>By whom created.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
Esere	Ozoluwa	
Obazelu	Akenzuwa I.	{ Seniority purchased by Eweka II.
Aighobahi	Eweka II.	
Obaruyiedo	Akenzuwa	{ Seniority purchased by present Oba.
Obaeki	Ovonrame	{ Seniority purchased by Eweka II.

himself).

67. Not all the Urochloa titles are held in Iwebo.

Some of them being held in Iwebo. The list is as

follows:-

Title	Society
Ihama	Iwebo
Obasorinye	Iwebo
Oghator	Iwebo or Iwebo
Obidha	Iwebo
Obasiduna	Iwebo
Brannwen	Iwebo
Ashahan	Iwebo
Agona	Iwebo
Oshian	Iwebo
Obasagben	Iwebo
Uwogo	Iwebo

Although the Ihama is not properly an Urochloa title-holder

his position is one of great importance in Iwebo.

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only one apartment for the whole society. There are two

title-grades known as Urochloa n'Iwebo and Urochloa.

70. The Urochloa n'Iwebo titles in this society are

as follows:-

Title	By whom created	Remarks
Kure	Ozoluwa	
Obasiduna	Akinnuwa I.	(formerly purchased by Oba II.)
Aligobadi	Owala II.	(by Oba II.)
Ooruyele	Akinnuwa	(formerly purchased by Oba II.)
Oseedi	Ozoluwa	(formerly purchased by Oba II.)

<u>Title.</u>	<u>By Whom created</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
Obadagbonyi	Adolor	
Obadesagbon	Ovonrame	{ Elevated to Eghaevbo by Eweka II who pureh chased seniority for (Obadesagbon.
Akenuwa	Akengbuda.	
Ovienzowoba	Akenzuwa II.	

A list of the Ekhaime title-holders in Iweguae is given in Appendix 'D'.

THE IBIWE SOCIETY

71. The third and junior society is the Ibiwe Society, which is responsible for the Oba's harem. This society really consists of two parts, Ibiwe proper and Erueric. The Erueric claim to have come from Ife with the Oba. Their name would seem to imply that they were originally the slaves (eru) of the harem (eric).

72. The Ibiwe proper trace their origin to those followers of Oba Ozoluwa from Ora who assisted him to take up the title of Oba. It is said that they first lived outside Benin at Enyae but were later brought into Benin. They were always very loyal to the Oba and were known as 'the left hand of the leopard', for the Oba always struck his enemies by them just as the leopard always struck with its left paw. It is said that in the time of Oba Ehengbuda, the Oba decided to visit Lagos. He called on the Iwebo and Iweguae Societies to accompany him but they both made excuses. He then called on the Ibiwe who said they would follow the Oba anywhere. Convinced of their loyalty, he instructed the Ibiwe to remain in Benin to look after his wives and children. It is from this time that Ibiwe's connection with the harem dates, though it was not until the time of Oba Akenzuwa I that the Ibiwe were granted the position of a society.

73. There are two branches of the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe title grade in Ibiwe, those in Ibiwe proper and those in Erueric. In Ibiwe the titles are as follows:-

Remarks.

By whom created

Title.

Obadabonyi	Adolor	
Obadabonyi	Ovurama	(Elevated to high rank by Eweka II who pursued seniority for Obadabonyi.)
Akenuwa	Akenuwa	
Ovurama	Akenuwa II.	

A list of the Akenuwa title-holders in Iwagbo is given in

Appendix 'D'.

71. The third and junior society is the Ibiwe society.

which is responsible for the Oba's harem. This society

really consists of two parts, Ibiwe proper and Ewerike.

The Ewerike claim to have come from life with the Oba. Their

name would seem to imply that they were originally the

slaves (eri) of the harem (eri).

72. The Ibiwe proper trace their origin to those

followers of Oba Okeke from Oba who associated him to take

up the title of Oba. It is said that they first lived

outside Benin at Ewerike but were later brought into Benin.

They were always very loyal to the Oba and were known as

'the left hand of the Oba', for the Oba always struck

his enemies by them just as the leopard always struck with

its left paw. It is said that in the time of Oba Okeke,

the Oba decided to visit Ewerike. He called on the Ibiwe and

Iwagbo societies to accompany him but they both made

excuses. He then called on the Ibiwe who said they would

follow the Oba anywhere. Convinced of their loyalty, he

associated the Ibiwe to remain in Benin to look after his

wives and children. It is from this time that Ibiwe's

connection with the harem dates, though it was not until

the time of Oba Akenuwa I that the Ibiwe were granted the

position of a society.

73. There are two branches of the Ewerike society.

title grade in Ibiwe, those in Ibiwe proper and those in

Ewerike. In Ibiwe the titles are as follows:-

THE IBIWE
SOCIETY

<u>Title.</u>	<u>By whom created.</u>
Ine	Akenzuwa I.
Obazuaiye	Akengbuda.
Obahiagbon	Adolor
Obamoyi	Ovonrame
Aiyobajiegbe	Eweka II
Obayuwana	Ovonrame
Obaradesuwa	Akenzuwa II
Obarojuwa	Akenzuwa II

In Erueric there are the following Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>By whom created.</u>
Oshodin	Ewuare
Uso	Ewedo
Ezuako	Esigie
Obazowa	Osamwede

74. A list of the Ekhaime titles in Ibiwe is given in Appendix 'D'. There were no Ekhaime titles in Erueric. Before one can take a title in Ibiwe one has to become an Ukor Erueric and pay the fees. The Ibiwe society, unlike the other societies does not get a share of title-fees, and the title-holders are not allowed to carry the ceremonial sword called 'Ada'.

RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE
SOCIETIES AND
THE GUILDS.

75. It has been seen that each of these societies was in charge of a branch of the Ob's house-hold, and that each of the guilds had its special function to perform for the Oba. According to the nature of this service each of the guild was affiliated to one or other of the Societies. For example the Igbesavban guild who were carvers in wood and ivory were affiliated to Iwebo as their products were part of the regalia. The large class of Ewaise, Oba's doctors, were affiliated to Iweguae, while the Ibieric who carried out the repairs to the buildings of the harem were affiliated to Ibiwe. It is difficult to discover what such affiliation entailed. The members of an affiliated guild could apparently use the apartment in the palace set aside for the society to which they were affiliated, though they

<u>Title.</u>	<u>By whom created.</u>
Ine	Akenzua I.
Obasuaive	Akenzua I.
Obadigbon	Adolor
Obamoyi	Ovotama
Aiyobajigbe	Ewaka II
Obayuwana	Ovotama
Obatadesuwa	Akenzua II
Obatojuwa	Akenzua II

In summary there are the following Aghavbo n'Oba titles:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>By whom created.</u>
Obodoin	Ewaka
Uso	Ewaka
Ewaka	Ewaka
Obasowa	Oasawade

74. A list of the Ekehime titles in Ibo is given in

Appendix 'D'. There were no Ekehime titles in Eweric. Before one can take a title in Ibo one has to become an Uxor Eweric and pay the fees. The Ibo society unlike the other societies does not get a share of title-fees, and the title-holders are not allowed to carry the ceremonial sword called 'Ada'.

75. It has been seen that each of these societies was in charge of a branch of the Oba's house-hold, and that each of the guilds had its special function to perform for the Oba. According to the nature of this service each of the guild was affiliated to one or other of the societies. For example the Ighavvhan guild who were carvers in wood and ivory were affiliated to Iwobo as their products were part of the regalia. The large class of Ewaka, Oba's doctors, were affiliated to Iwerua, while the Ibo who carried out the repairs to the buildings of the house were affiliated to Ibiwa. It is difficult to discover what each affiliation entailed. The members of an affiliated guild could apparently use the apartment in the palace and aside for the society to which they were affiliated, though they

RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE
SOCIAL AND
THE GUILDS.

took no part in meeting of the Society. In some cases, but not in all, messages from the Oba would be sent through the Society to which the guild was affiliated, but the society does not appear to have exercised any control over the internal affairs of the guild. The real position seems to have been that the society was only concerned with the guild in so far as the guild's relationship to the Oba was concerned. On the other hand, a member of an affiliated guild might use the name of the Society. Thus the expression ' I am Iwebo' may mean one of three things, it may mean ' am a fully initiated member of the Iwebo Society'; it may mean ' am the son of a member of Iwebo, though not yet initiated' or it may mean ' I am a member of guild which is affiliated to Iwebo'.

EGHAEVBON'ORE.

76. Besides the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe of the Societies, there was another, and older, class of title-holders known as the Eghaevbo n'Ore. This grade of title-holders would appear to have had its origin in the titles created by Oba Ewedo after his entry into Benin, though the Iyashere, who is the senior title-holder of this grade claims that many of the titles came from Ife with the original migration. He agrees, however, that the titles are created by the Oba and that they can not exist without an Oba, so that even if such titles did exist during the Ogiso period, they became extinct during the interregnum and were re-created after the second Yoruba migration.

77. These titles are 'town titles' and though their holders are members of one or other of the societies, they are not in such close and daily contact with the palace. The holders of these titles have always lived in Ofenokwa, while the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe titles-holders lived in the royal quarter call Ogbe. The Eghaevbo n'Ore titles are as follows:-

<u>Title.</u>	<u>Society.</u>
Iyashere	Iwebo or Iweguae
Esogban	Ibiwe

took no part in meeting of the Society. In some cases, but not in all, messages from the Oba would be sent through the Society to which the Guild was affiliated, but the Society does not appear to have exercised any control over the internal affairs of the Guild. The real position seems to have been that the Society was only concerned with the Guild in so far as the Guild's relationship to the Oba was concerned. On the other hand, a member of an affiliated Guild might use the name of the Society. Thus the expression 'I am Iwebo' may mean one of three things, it may mean 'I am a fully initiated member of the Iwebo Society'; it may mean 'I am the son of a member of Iwebo, though not yet initiated'; or it may mean 'I am a member of Guild which is affiliated to Iwebo'.

AGBAYE, OBA.

76. Besides the *Agbaye* n'Oba of the Societies, there was another, and older, class of title-holders known as the *Agbaye* n'Ore. This grade of title-holders would appear to have had its origin in the titles created by Oba Iwebo after his entry into Benin, though the Iyashere, who is the senior title-holder of this grade claims that many of the titles came from life with the original migration. He agrees, however, that the titles are created by the Oba and that they can not exist without an Oba, so that even if such titles did exist during the Oyo period, they became extinct during the interregnum and were re-created after the second Yoruba migration.

77. These titles are 'town titles' and though their holders are members of one or other of the societies, they are not in such close and daily contact with the palace. The holders of these titles have always lived in Oshomwa, while the *Agbaye* n'Oba title-holders lived in the royal quarter called Oba. The *Agbaye* n'Ore titles are as follows:-

<u>Title.</u>	<u>Society.</u>
Iyashere	Iwebo or Iwebo
Agbaye	Iwebo

<u>Title.</u>	<u>Society.</u>
Eson	Iwebo
Osuma	Iwebo or Iweguae
Esama	Iwebo
Ologboshere	Iweguae (Hereditary)
Osula	Iweguae
Ima	Iwebo or Ibiwe
Obasiagbon	Ibiwe
Obaruyiedo	Iweguae
Obaraye	Iwebo
Obasuyi	Iwebo
Obayagbona	Iwebo
Aiwerrioghene	Iwebo
Iguosadoba	Iwebo
Osayiuwanoba	Iwebo
Aihioba	Iweguae.

The Iyashere ranks as the senior title-holder in Benin, though the Uzamas are a senior title grade to the Eghaevbo n'Ore. He pays slightly higher title-fees than any other title-holder and is regarded as the principal adviser to the Oba.

THE UZAMAS

78. The Uzama title-holders, although living outside the walls of Benin City were so closely connected with the Oba that mention must be made of them in a report on Benin City. There were seven of these Uzama titles, six of them trace their descent from the original supporters of Agamiyan, the leader of the second Yoruba migration. The seventh is the Edaiken, the Oba's senior son and heir-apparent. Thier titles in order of seniority are as follows:-

Oliha
Edohen
Ojomo (Ezomo)
Ero
Eholor
Oloton

<u>Society.</u>	<u>Title.</u>
Iwebo	Esan
Iwebo or Iwekuan	Osama
Iwebo	Osama
Iwekuan (Hereditary)	Olobohene
Iwekuan	Osula
Iwebo or Ibiwe	Ima
Ibiwe	Obasanbon
Iwekuan	Obaruyedo
Iwebo	Obaraye
Iwebo	Obarayi
Iwebo	Obarayona
Iwebo	Aiwerrigbene
Iwebo	Igwadoba
Iwebo	Osiyiwamoba
Iwekuan.	Akhioba

The Iyashere ranks as the senior title-holder in Benin, though the Usama are a senior title grade to the Eghaevbo n'Ore. He pays slightly higher title-fee than any other title-holder and is regarded as the principal adviser to the Oba.

78. The Usama title-holders, although living outside the walls of Benin City were so closely connected with the Oba that mention must be made of them in a report on Benin City. There were seven of these Usama titles, six of them trace their descent from the original supporters of Agamiyan, the leader of the second Yoruba migration. The seventh is the Eshaker, the Oba's senior son and heir-apparent. Their titles in order of seniority are as follows:-

- Oliha
- Eshaker
- Ojomo (Ezomo)
- Ero
- Esholor
- Olofin.

UZAMA
VILLAGES.

79. Each Uzama had its own village immediately outside Benin. These villages were Uzebu where Ojomo lived, Uselu where the Edaiken and the Oba's mother lived, Urubi where the Ero lived, and Idumu-Oliha, Idumu-Oloto, Idumu-Eholor and Idumu-Edohen where Oliha, Oloto, Eholor and Edohen respectively lived.

80. These villages were run on much the same lines as Benin itself, the title-holder had his own court and conferred his own titles which were similar to those in Benin. There is an exception to this general rule in the case of Idumu-Oloto. The Oloto was the caretaker of Usama, where the Oba goes to be crowned. It is said that titles in Idumu-Oloto were always conferred by the Oba during his stay at Usama at the time of his installation.

81. At the present time Idumu-Eholor, Idumu-Oliha and Idumu-Edohen consist only of the title-holders house and perhaps one or two relatives and titles are no longer conferred by these Uzamas. It will be necessary to go into greater detail with regard to the other four Uzama villages.

UZEBU

82. Uzebu consists of four "Idumus", Ogbewaise, Ogbewebo, Ehaikpen and Ogbeuviomo. The organisation of Uzebu was very much the same as Benin. The Ojomo conferred titles and had both Eghaevbos and Ekhaime. The present Ojomo has conferred many of the traditional titles, but the title-holders, finding that titles in Uzebu did not bring them Court membership or a position on the Council have sought titles in Benin itself and are now unwilling to recognise the Ojomos authority. A list of the titles is given in Appendix 'E'.

USELU

83. Uselu consists of two quite distinct parts. Uselu Egwadaiken, where the Edaiken (Oba's eldest son) lives, and Uselu Egawaiyoba, where the Oba's mother lives.

84. The Edaiken does not go to Uselu until the ceremony of showing him to the people has been performed.

USAMA
VILLAGES

79. Each Usama had its own village immediately outside Benin. These villages were Usaba where Ojomo lived, Usala where the Ebaiken and the Oba's mother lived, Uruhi where the Eba lived, and Idumu-Olofen, Idumu-Ebolor and Idumu-Eboken where Olofen, Ebolor and Eboken respectively lived.

80. These villages were run on much the same lines as Benin itself, the title-holder had his own court and conferred his own titles which were similar to those in Benin. There is an exception to this general rule in the case of Idumu-Olofen. The Olofen was the caretaker of Usama, where the Oba goes to be crowned. It is said that titles in Idumu-Olofen were always conferred by the Oba during his stay at Usama at the time of his installation. 81. At the present time Idumu-Ebolor, Idumu-Olofen and Idumu-Eboken consist only of the title-holders house and perhaps one or two relatives and titles are no longer conferred by these Usamas. It will be necessary to go into greater detail with regard to the other four Usama villages.

USABA

82. Usaba consists of four "Idummas", Ogbewaine, Ogbewabo, Ebaiken and Ogbewikomo. The organization of Usaba was very much the same as Benin. The Ojomo conferred titles and had both Ebaiken and Ebaiken. The present Ojomo has conferred many of the traditional titles, but the title-holders, finding that titles in Usaba did not bring them Court membership or a position on the Council have sought titles in Benin itself and are now unwilling to recognise the Ojomo's authority. A list of the titles is given in Appendix 'B'.

USALA

83. Usala consists of two quite distinct parts. Usala Ebaiken, where the Ebaiken (Oba's eldest son) lived, and Usala Ebaiken, where the Oba's mother lived. 84. The Ebaiken does not go to Usala until the ceremony of showing him to the people has been performed.

This is usually done when he is about sixteen. It happens therefore that there are long periods when there is no Edaiken at Uselu Egwadaiken. When he is in residence he has a Court exactly similar to that of the Oba with his own Iwebo, Iweguae and Ibiwe societies and he had the right to confer the same titles as the Oba. When there is no Edaiken at Uselu the Iyashere of Uselu summons meetings, but the Oba confers titles. There were certain villages which paid tribute to the Edaiken. It is said that when there is no Edaiken, the Uwangué of Uselu should receive this tribute and account for it to the Edaiken when he is installed. A list of the title-holders in Uselu Egwadaiken is given in Appendix 'E'.

85. Just as in Uselu Egwadaiken there are periods when there is no Edaiken at Uselu, so at Egwaiyoba, there are periods when, through death, there is no Iya-Oba in this part of Uselu. The Oba's mother held a court in the same way as the Edaiken. In the absence of an Iya-Oba, the Eson of Uselu was regarded as the head of the village.

URUBI.

86. Urubi which is the Ero's village, consisted of two distinct parts, Urubi and Emehe Urubi. Each section has its own Edion ju-ju, but both parts make sacrifice to both Edion. It appears that Ero was originally a war captain and that the Emehe were a guild which had certain functions to perform in connection with the harem. Esigie was the first Oba to send his mother to Uselu and he asked Ero to go and live near Uselu to protect her. The Emehe agreed to go and live with the Ero as they had certain ceremonies to perform with regard to Oba's mother.

87. In Urubi itself the Ero had the same powers and privileges as the other Uzamas, that is to say that he could confer titles, but he could not confer titles in Emehe, of which the Odianwele was head. Emehe were affiliated to the Ibiwe society. A list of the titles at present held in Urubi is given in Appendix 'E'.

This is usually done when he is about sixteen. It happens therefore that there are long periods when there is no Ebaiken at Uaein Ekwadaiken. When he is in residence he has a court exactly similar to that of the Oba with his own Iwebo, Iweguase and Ibiwe societies and he had the right to confer the same titles as the Oba. When there is no Ebaiken at Uaein the Iyashere of Uaein summons meetings, but the Oba confers titles. There were certain villages which paid tribute to the Ebaiken. It is said that when there is no Ebaiken, the Uwangwe of Uaein should receive this tribute and account for it to the Ebaiken when he is installed. A list of the title-holders in Uaein Ekwadaiken is given in Appendix 'E'.

85. Just as in Uaein Ekwadaiken there are periods when there is no Ebaiken at Uaein, so at Ekwaiyoba, there are periods when, through death, there is no Iya-Oba in this part of Uaein. The Oba's mother held a court in the same way as the Ebaiken. In the absence of an Iya-Oba, the Eson of Uaein was regarded as the head of the village.

86. Urubi which is the Eto's village, consisted of two distinct parts, Urubi and Enehe Urubi. Each section has its own Ebaiken Ju-Ju, but both parts make sacrifice to both Ebaiken. It appears that Eto was originally a war captain and that the Enehe were a guild which had certain functions to perform in connection with the harvest. Ebaiken was the first Oba to send his mother to Uaein and he asked Eto to go and live near Uaein to protect her. The Enehe agreed to go and live with the Eto as they had certain ceremonies to perform with regard to Oba's mother.

87. In Urubi itself the Eto had the same powers and privileges as the other Uwangwe, that is to say that he could confer titles, but he could not confer titles in Enehe, of which the Odinnwele was head. Enehe were affiliated to the Ibiwe society. A list of the titles at present held in Urubi is given in Appendix 'F'.

UAEIN.

IDUMU-OLOTUN.

88. There is nothing of particular importance to note with regard to Idumu-Oloton. A list of the titles at present held there is given in Appendix 'E'.

SUMMARY OF
POSITION BEFORE
ADVENT OF
GOVERNMENT.

89. To summarise the administrative position before the advent of Government. In Benin itself there were a number of guilds which formed geographical and administrative units; there were also a number of geographical units which were inhabited by members of the three great societies and their off-spring, these units had no administrative entity, for administrative purposes the occupants were merged with the society to which they belonged. Immediately outside Benin but so closely connected with it that they must be treated as part of it were Uzama villages and certain guilds similar to those inside the city itself. At the centre of the constitution was the Oba himself. Surrounded by the title-holders of the three great societies.

90. I am satisfied that in theory, at least, the Oba was absolute ruler, but the degree of absolutism must vary with the character of the Oba, the state of the times and the power and influence of the various title-grades. There were always two great checks on the Oba's power, the power of ju-ju and popular opinion. The Oba may in a sense have been an absolute ruler but he himself was ruled by ju-ju. His every action, his every deed was circumscribed by ritual which, if neglected, might bring upon his head the wrath of the Gods. To quote an example, In the time of Oba Esigie the Uzamaz refused to come and attend the Oba's 'Ugie' ceremony, at which they had certain ceremonies to perform. An impasse seemed inevitable, the ceremony could not be performed without the Uzamas, but if the ceremony was not performed the wraths of his fathers might descend on the Oba. In this particular case a way out of the difficulty was found by creating fresh Uzamas within the city and digging a ditch so that they, like the true Uzamas, could cross the ditch when coming to see the

88. There is nothing of particular importance to note with regard to Idumu-Oloton. A list of the titles at present held there is given in Appendix 'E'.

89. To summarise the administrative position before the advent of Government. In Benin itself there were a

number of guilds which formed geographical and administrative units; there were also a number of geographical units which were inhabited by members of the three great societies and their off-spring, these units had no administrative entity, for administrative purposes the occupants were merged with the society to which they belonged. Immediately out side Benin but so closely connected with it that they must be treated as part of it were Usuma villages and certain guilds similar to those inside the city itself. At the centre of the constitution was the Oba himself. Surrounded by the title-holders of the three great societies.

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Oba. In due course a reconciliation was reached with the true Uzamas, but the people who had come forward in the time of emergency were given the right to style themselves Uzamas n'Ibiye, minor rank of title holders which still exists. The point is that the title-holders and the ju-ju priests always had the power to put a check on the Oba, not by force or arms but by refusing to perform for him ceremonies which they alone could perform and which were essential to the Oba's welfare.

91. The second check, that of public opinion, was more uncertain it depended on the relative strength of the Oba and opposition and the scales were probably weighed in favour of the Oba, but every ruler, however, powerful must know that the worm may turn and must pay some measure of attention to popular feeling.

92. In practice the Oba always did consult the more important title-holders on major subjects and every day he held open Court known as Ekwamaton to which the title-holders and the extrec and at which they had the right to voice their opinions. It seems that the Ekwamaton was most regularly attended by the Eghaevbo n'Ogbe, less regularly by the Eghaevbo n'Ore and only very rarely by the Uzamaz.

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

THE NATIVE COUNCIL.

93. Immediately after the capture of Benin stops were taken to form a native Council of the more important chiefs in Benin. This Council originally consisted of nine members and, with the Resident presiding, formed an administrative council for the whole of the Benin territories. Its composition underwent certain alterations but constitutionally the position remained unchanged until the installation of Oba Eweka in 1914.

94. After his installation the Oba with the assistance of a council of nine became the head of the administration. In 1916 the Division was divided into four Districts and Benin City was divided into nine Wards, each

Opa. In due course a reconciliation was reached with the
true Usamas, but the people who had come forward in the
time of emergency were given the right to style themselves
Usamas n'ibye, minor rank of title holders which still
exists. The point is that the title-holders and the Ju-Ju
priests always had the power to put a check on the Opa, not
by force or arms but by refusing to perform for him
ceremonies which they alone could perform and which were
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91. The second check, that of public opinion, was
more uncertain it depended on the relative strength of the
Opa and opposition and the scales were probably
weighed in favour of the Opa, but every ruler, however,
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92. In practice the Opa always did consult the more
important title-holders on major subjects and every day he
held open court known as Ekwamaton to which the title-
holders and the extree and at which they had the right to
voice their opinions. It seems that the Ekwamaton was
most regularly attended by the Ekwambo n'Ope, less
regularly by the Ekwambo n'Ore and only very rarely by the
Usamas.

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

93. Immediately after the capture of Benin stops were
taken to form a Native Council of the more important
chiefs in Benin. This Council originally consisted of nine
members and, with the Resident presiding, formed an
administrative council for the whole of the Benin
territories. Its composition underwent certain altera-
tions but constitutionally the position remained unchanged
until the installation of the Eweke in 1914.

94. After his installation the Opa with the
assistance of a council of nine became the head of the
administration. In 1916 the Division was divided into four
districts and Benin City was divided into nine wards, each

THE NATIVE
COUNCIL.

District had a District Head appointed from Benin while the Wards were in charge of Ward Heads.

95. Further revision took place in 1921 when another District was formed and the District Heads became members of the Council.

96. Finally the Council was again reformed in 1936 and the District and Ward Heads were done away with. The present position is that the Oba is the Native Authority and has in advisory council composed of the Uzamas and the two grades of Eghaevbo title-holders. More will be said about this council in a later paragraph.

97. Besides these developments and alterations from without there have been ~~certain~~ internal developments. Benin is a growing and fast developing city and is rapidly becoming commercialised. In selecting a site for a new house attention is no longer paid to the guild to which the prospective owner belongs, but merely to its commercial possibilities or the amenities which the site offers. It is becoming increasingly difficult to identify a guild with a geographical unit. Moreover there has been great building activities on un-occupied land outside the old walls of the city.

THE FAILURE
OF THE PRESENT
COUNCIL

98. There can, I think, be no doubt that the council as a present constituted has a strong traditional basis, equally there can be no doubt that it is unsatisfactory. The majority of its members are obstructionist and reactionary and the principal motive behind its every action is self-interest.

99. It may be of advantage to try and discover the reason or reasons for the apparent failure of this council. In my opinion the primary reason is that the council is only representative of one small section of the community, the Ademotú, the so-called nobility in Benin. It is true that by tradition this class were the principal advisers of the Oba, but they interfered but little if at all with the administration of smaller units, the Guilds in

District had a District Head appointed from Benin while the
wards were in charge of Ward Heads.

95. Further revision took place in 1951 when another
District was formed and the District Heads became members
of the Council.

96. Finally the Council was again reformed in 1956
and the District and Ward Heads were done away with. The
present position is that the Oba is the Native Authority
and has an advisory council composed of the Usama and the
two grades of agbawo title-holders. More will be said
about this council in a later paragraph.

97. Besides these developments and alterations from
without there have been certain internal developments.
Benin is a growing and fast developing city and is rapidly
becoming commercialised. In selecting a site for a new
house attention is no longer paid to the guild to which the
prospective owner belongs, but merely to its commercial
possibilities or the amenities which the site offers. It
is becoming increasingly difficult to identify a guild with
a geographical unit. Moreover there has been great
building activities on un-occupied land outside the old
walls of the city.

98. There can, I think, be no doubt that the council
as a present constituted has a strong traditional basis,
equally there can be no doubt that it is unsatisfactory.
The majority of its members are obstructionist and
reactionary and the principal motive behind its every
action is self-interest.

99. It may be of advantage to try and discover the
reason or reasons for the apparent failure of this council.
In my opinion the primary reason is that the council is
only representative of one small section of the community,
the Ashosu, the so-called nobility in Benin. It is true
that by tradition this class were the principal advisors
of the Oba, but they interested but little if at all with
the administration of smaller units, the guilds in

THE FAILURE
OF THE PRESENT
COUNCIL

Benin and the villages in the Districts. The Oba is the father of all his people, but the Council members hardly regard the common people even as poor relations and have not their interests at heart.

100. There is moreover, among a large section of the Council, strong personal animosity to the Oba. It is not possible here to go into all the reasons for this attitude, but the Oba has perhaps tended to too great a centralisation particularly with regard to the Uzama villages. To take one example. It is undisputed that the Ojomo has the right to confer titles in Uzebu, and the present Ojomo has done so. These title-holders, though ranking as Eghaevbo in Uzebu were not members of the Council or of the Native Court. They therefore came to the conclusion that titles in Uzebu were useless to them and approached the Oba to give them titles in Benin. In many cases the Oba has done this, with the result that the people of Uzebu no longer pay any attention to the Ojomo.

101. Although this report deals only with Benin City and its environs, it is necessary to make some mention of the relationship existing between Benin City and the Central organisation of Benin Division. Since the advent of Government such administrative authority as has been delegated to the people has been centralised in Benin City, first in the Native Council and later in the Oba and Council. These Councils have taken various forms but have had this in common, that they were representative only of the Adesotu class in Benin City.

102. Such complete centralisation has, in my opinion, no real basis in tradition. It is true that the Oba / that before making an important decision, consulted his titled men and nobody else, but decision affecting the whole of the Benin territories must have been extremely rare. The vast majority of local affairs would be left to the council of the village or village group concerned.

103. Social development since the advent of

RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN BENIN
CITY AND THE
CENTRAL
ADMINISTRATION.

Benin and the villages in the District. The Oba is the father of all his people, but the Council members hardly regard the common people even as poor relations and have not their interests at heart.

100. There is moreover, among a large section of the Council, strong personal animosity to the Oba. It is not possible here to go into all the reasons for this attitude, but the Oba has perhaps tended to too great a centralisation particularly with regard to the Ukeba villages. To take one example. It is undisputed that the Oba has the right to confer titles in Ukeba, and the present Oba has done so. These title-holders, though ranking as Eghavbo in Ukeba were not members of the Council or of the Native Court. They therefore came to the conclusion that titles in Ukeba were useless to them and approached the Oba to give them titles in Benin. In many cases the Oba has done this, with the result that the people of Ukeba no longer pay any attention to the Oba.

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103. Social development since the advent of

RELATIONSHIP
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ADMINISTRATION.

Government, particularly the introduction of a money currency and the almost total disappearance of communal labour, have lead to a degree of centralisation which was quite unknown before the advent of Government.

104. It is now generally admitted that the villages must have ^{representation} ~~representation~~ on the Central Council, but among a certain section of the Adesotu in Benin it has been suggested that they themselves are entitled to represent the villages. This claim is based on one of two grounds, either that 'the villages are ours' or that 'we were the spokesmen for the villages'.

105. The first of these claims refers to the fact that a number, not a very large number, of villages were originally founded by slaves of one or other of the important title-holders in Benin, such village names as Igue-Iyashere, Iguoshodin, Iguobazuwa are indicative of such an origin. These villages, although at first they may have served their former master seem very quickly to have attained the position of an independent village and to have had as much control over their own affairs as had ~~village~~ whose original inhabitants has been free. It is worthy of note that these 'slave' villages paid tribute to the Oba, not through their old master but through an 'Onotueyevbo' nominated by the Oba.

106. The second claim is based on this 'Onotueyevbo' system. Every villages had its 'Onotueyevbo' in Benin, a man through whom members of the village approached the Oba. It has been claimed that the 'Onotueyevbo' was the spokesman and the over-lord of the village. In my opinion neither of these claims can be substantiated. The correct interpretation of the term seems to be 'one who salutes for' and this precisely describes the function of the 'Onotueyevbo'. Only certain people had the entree to the Oba ~~and~~ any other person, wishing to see the Oba, must be introduced by a person having the entree. The function of the 'Onotueyevbo' was to introduce persons from the

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for' and this precisely describes the function of the
'Onotueyabo'. Only certain people had the right to the
Oba and any other person, wishing to see the Oba, was
introduced by a person having the right. The function of
the 'Onotueyabo' was to introduce persons from the

village to the Oba, not to speak for them and far less to act as their over-lord. There are more villages which have state sword, as their 'Onotueyevbo' than there are villages who have one of the important Eghaevbos as 'Onotueyevbo'. It is perfectly true that many of the Eghaevbos were 'Onotueyevbos' or one or more villages and that these villages paid their tribute through them and that they retained some part of the tribute for themselves, but tribute was usually paid at one of the many festivals connected with the numerous ju-jus with which Benin abounded, and it was probably because he was connected with the ceremonies of the festival rather than because he was connected with the village, that the 'Onotueyevbo' was allowed to take some part of the tribute.

V - JUDICIAL

ANCIENT SYSTEM.

126. The judicial system in Benin City was similar to that found elsewhere in the Division. There was no clear-cut distinction drawn between administrative and judicial functions, the administrative unit also being a judicial unit. Thus in Benin disputes or complaints between members or a Guild would go before a meeting of the Guild consisting of the title-holders and elders of the Guild. These Guild Councils had the right to hear and determine all cases in which member of the Oba's household were concerned. It would appear however, that the only punishment which they could inflict was a fine.

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meet and try to settle the case.

ORIGINAL
FILED

128. In the case of the Adesotu a dispute would probably first be taken before the senior member of the title-grade. If he was unable to reach a settlement then a full meeting of the title-grade or Society would be summoned.

129. Where the dispute was between a member of a guild and an Adesotu members from the Guild and from the Society would meet together to settle the matter. This illustrates what I believe to be a basic principle of the ancient system of justice, namely that a man had a right to have his dispute settled by his own people, by people who knew him.

130. Cases of withcraft were always tried by ordeal^{al} and would be sent to one of the guilds whose special function it was to administer the ordeal, but the ordeal could not be administered without the consent of the Oba.

131. The Oba himself tried all cases of homicide and he alone could pass a sentence of death.

THE UZAMA VILLAGE

132. The Uzama Villages were each a judicial unit of their own and, on a smaller scale, functioned in the same way as Benin City. The Uzamas themselves had the power of life and death though it is said that they should report to the Oba before carrying out the sentence.

APPEALS.

133. All persons had the right of appeal to the Oba and these appeals would be heard at the daily Court known as Egwamaton at which the Eghaevbo would be present.

SYSTEM SINCE ADVENT OF GOVERNMENT.

134. Almost immediately after the occupation of Benin City a Judicial Council was set up. This Council sitting with the Resident as President and with certain of the important title-holders as members, had jurisdiction over the whole of the Benin Territories.

135. In 1914 a Native Court was established in Benin City with 'B' Grade powers. This had jurisdiction over Benin City and Benin District. Except for the fact that the size of the Benin District has been gradually whittled down the position has remained virtually unchanged since

128. In the case of the Adesoro a dispute would probably first be taken before the senior member of the title-grade. If he was unable to reach a settlement then a full meeting of the title-grade or possibly would be summoned.

129. Where the dispute was between a member of a Guild and an Adesoro member from the Guild and from the Society would meet together to settle the matter. This illustrates what I believe to be a basic principle of the ancient system of justice, namely that a man had a right to have his dispute settled by his own people, by people who knew him.

130. Cases of witchcraft were always tried by ordeal and would be sent to one of the guilds whose special function it was to administer the ordeal, but the ordeal could not be administered without the consent of the Oba. The Oba himself tried all cases of homicide and he alone could pass a sentence of death.

131. The Usuma Villages were each a judicial unit of their own and, on a smaller scale, functioned in the same way as Benin City. The Usumas themselves had the power of life and death though it is said that they should report to the Oba before carrying out the sentence.

132. All persons had the right of appeal to the Oba and these appeals would be heard at the daily Court known as Ekwemeton at which the Ekwemeto would be present.

133. Almost immediately after the occupation of Benin City a Judicial Council was set up. This Council sitting with the Resident as President and with certain of the important title-holders as members, had jurisdiction over the whole of the Benin territories.

134. In 1914 a Native Court was established in Benin City with 12 title holders. This had jurisdiction over Benin City and Benin District. Except for the fact that the title of the Benin District has been virtually abolished since the British had control virtually unchanged since

Usumas
Villages

appeals

Native Court
1914
Benin City

that time, the Benin Native Court having jurisdiction over the Benin District. Its present membership consists of twelve persons, one of whom is an Itsekiri from Ogba, one of whom is a title-holder from Uslu and the rest of whom come from Benin City. These members from Benin City are for the most part only minor title-holders.

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APPENDIX "A".

LIST OF OBAS WITH APPROXIMATE DATES.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Date.</u>
1. Eweka I.	Circa 1200
2. Uwakhuahen	Circa 1220
3. Ehemihen	" 1235
4. Ewedo	" 1255
5. Oguola	" 1280
6. Edoni	" 1290
7. Udagbedo	" 1299
8. Ohon	" 1334
9. Egbeka	" 1370
10. Orobiru	" 1400
11. Uwaifiokun	" 1430
12. Ewuare.	" 1440
13. Ezoti	" 1473
14. Olua	" 1473
15. Ozoluwa	" 1481
16. Esigie	" 1504
17. Oghogbua	" 1550
18. Ehengbuda	" 1578
19. Ohuan	" 1608
20. Ahenzae	" 1641
21. Akenzae	" 1660
22. Akengboi	" 1666
23. Ahenkpaye	" 1672
24. Akengbedo	" 1681
25. Ore-Ogbene	" 1686
26. Ewuakpe	" 1695
27. Akenzuwa I	" 1710
28. Eresoyen	" 1733
29. Akengbuda	" 1750
30. Obanosa	" 1804
31. Osemwede	" 1816
32. Adolor	" 1838
33. Ovonrame	" 1888 - 1897
34. Eweka II	" 1914
35. Akenzuwa II	" 1933

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APPENDIX "A".

LIST OF OBAS WITH APPROXIMATE DATES.

Name.	Date.
1. Eweka I.	1200
2. Eweka II	1220
3. Eweka III	1235
4. Eweka IV	1255
5. Eweka V	1280
6. Eweka VI	1290
7. Eweka VII	1299
8. Eweka VIII	1334
9. Eweka IX	1370
10. Eweka X	1400
11. Eweka XI	1430
12. Eweka XII	1440
13. Eweka XIII	1473
14. Eweka XIV	1473
15. Eweka XV	1481
16. Eweka XVI	1504
17. Eweka XVII	1550
18. Eweka XVIII	1578
19. Eweka XIX	1608
20. Eweka XX	1641
21. Eweka XXI	1660
22. Eweka XXII	1666
23. Eweka XXIII	1672
24. Eweka XXIV	1681
25. Eweka XXV	1686
26. Eweka XXVI	1692
27. Eweka XXVII	1710
28. Eweka XXVIII	1735
29. Eweka XXIX	1750
30. Eweka XXX	1804
31. Eweka XXXI	1816
32. Eweka XXXII	1848
33. Eweka XXXIII	1898 - 1897
34. Eweka XXXIV	1914
35. Eweka XXXV	1935

APPENDIX "B"

GUILDS AT PRESENT EXISTING

IN BENIN.

(A). AFFILIATED TO IWEBO SOCIETY.

Name	Nature of Service.	Title of Headman	How Appointed
Avbiogbe	Town cries and land dividers	Okao Iyagbogbae	By appointment
Emadase	"Oro Dancers"	Obobaifo Obagbon	- do -
Isekpokin	Leather Workers	Okao	By Seniority
Igbesavban	Wood & Ivory carvers	Eholor	By appointment
Igwamaton	Blacksmiths	Ine Igwamaton	- do -
Odioma	Ceremonial Executioners	Okao	- do -
Ikpema	Drummers	Omuemu	Hereditary
Igbuzebu	Dancers	Odionwele	By Seniority
Iwefevben	Caretakers of Ake juju	Odionwele	- do -
Iwoki	Weather prophet and Astrologers	Odionwele	By appointment
Irogun	Caretakers of Evbonedo & Evbogun jujus	Odionwele	By seniority
Owina n'edo	Cloth Weavers	Esama Ego	By appointment
Igweromo	Brass workers	Ine Igweromo	Hereditary
Efa n'ozeben	Priests of Aruogba	Ogiefa n'ozeben	- do -
Efa Omuekpo	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Omuekpo	- do -
Efa Ezele	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Ezele	- do -
Efa Oronbator	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Oronbator	- do -
Efa Aighobahi	Priests and Diviners	Ogiefa Aighobahi	- do -
Ukhegie	Priests of Ikhure juju	Ojioba	- do -
Igwisi	Private services to the Oba	Eson	By appointment
Iviakpen	Leopard hunters	Okao	By seniority
Ivekpen	Leopard butchers	Okao	- do -
Iviosa	Priests to Evbonedo juju	Osa	Hereditary
Ewa	Priests	Ohuoba	Hereditary
Esonokwa Dancers	Dancers	Oshian	By appointment
Izegbo	Dancers	Odionwele	By seniority
Ikpewini	Dancers	Unwana	By appointment
Ivbiawo	Witch Diviners	Okao	By Seniority
Isasa	Shield Bearers	Iiukotun	By appointment
Evboyanyan	Orooms	Okao	By seniority
Ikwewe	Special Services	Edogun	By appointment
(Ibiwe n'Ekwa)			

APPENDIX "B"
LIST OF PERSONNEL SERVING
IN THE
(A). AFFILIATED TO THE SOCIETY.

Name	Nature of Service	Title of Position	How Appointed
Abiodun	Low crime and land dividers	Okun Iyagbo	By appointment
Adesola	"Oro Dancers"	Obafemi Ogun	- do -
Adeniji	Leather workers	Okun	By seniority
Adesanya	Wood & Ivory carvers	Adolor	By appointment
Adesina	Blacksmiths	Isa Igbanjo	- do -
Adesina	Ceremonial executions	Okun	- do -
Adesina	Drummers	Omumu	Hereditary
Adesina	Dancers	Odunwole	By seniority
Adesina	Carpetmakers of Ake Jaja	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Weather prophet and Astrologers	Odunwole	By appointment
Adesina	Carpetmakers of Iyembo & Iyembo Jaja	Odunwole	By seniority
Adesina	Cloth Weavers	Esina Ego	By appointment
Adesina	Press workers	Isa Igbanjo	Hereditary
Adesina	Priests of Aro	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests and Diviners	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests and Diviners	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests and Diviners	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests and Diviners	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests and Diviners	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Priests of Iyembo Jaja	Odunwole	- do -
Adesina	Private services to the Opa	Esina	By appointment
Adesina	Leopard hunters	Okun	By seniority
Adesina	Leopard butchers	Okun	- do -
Adesina	Priests to Iyembo Jaja	Esina	Hereditary
Adesina	Priests	Odunwole	Hereditary
Adesina	Dancers	Odunwole	By appointment
Adesina	Dancers	Odunwole	By seniority
Adesina	Dancers	Odunwole	By appointment
Adesina	Witch Diviners	Okun	By seniority
Adesina	Shield Bearer	Odunwole	By appointment
Adesina	Orchestra	Okun	By seniority
Adesina	Special services	Odunwole	By appointment

(Note: The above list is not exhaustive.)

(B). AFFILIATED TO IWEGUAE SOCIETY.

Name	Nature of Service	Title of Headman	How appointed
Emehe	Private servants to Oba	Okao	By appointment
Ehorhan	Land Purifiers	Okao	By appointment
Eben	Funeral Ceremonies for the Oba	Okao Ebenakenzuwa	Hereditary.
Iwegie	Oba's Doctors	(See notes)	
Idumebo	Oba's Doctors	"	
Idumiwehen	- do -	"	
Evbiobama	- do -	"	
Iwotome	- do -	"	
Iwese	- do -	"	
Obakpe	- do -	"	
Etebite	- do -	"	
Ogadoloisa	- do -	"	
Ogovonrame	- do -	" "	
Ogeweka	- do -	"	
Ewsehia	- do -	"	
Ewaisede	- do -	Odionwele	By seniority
Evbieme	Special services	Okao	Hereditary
Ikpokpan	Dancers	Okao	By seniority
Isiemero	Oba's Bodyguard	Ekegbian	By appointment
Oguanaogbe	Witch Diviners	Osajiobator	By appointment
Iwowa	Receivers of River dues	Ogwa n'Iwowa	By appointment
Amufi	Acrobats & Eagle hunters	Okao	By appointment
Iweoghene	Storekeepers of Yams	Ikuobasoyeme	By appointment
Uhumu-Idumu	Keepers of site of Ugodo Nigodo	Odionwele	By seniority
Unueru	Keepers of Osun ju-ju	Odionwele	By seniority
Iboisa	Priests of Osun ju-ju	Odionwele	By seniority
Osuan	Priests of Evbonedo juju	Osuan	Hereditary
Isekpokin n'Iweguae	Leather workers	Okao	By seniority
Ihogbe	Priests of Ani ju-ju	Ihama	Hereditary.

C. AFFILIATED TO IBIWE SOCIETY

Name	Nature of service.	Title of Headman	How appointed
Eruerie	Guardians of Oba's wives	Uso	By appointment
Ivbiemezi	Ceremonial farmers	Odionwele	By seniority
Ogunimefo	Blacksmiths to the harem	Odionwele	- do -
Iwarame	Butchers	Ehondor	By appointment
Ibieriye	Repairers of harem	Odionwele	By seniority
Iwehiaze	Dividers of sacrificial animals.	Odionwele	- do -
Iriamila	Cow herds	Okao	- do -
Iwenogan	Priests to the harem	Olotu	By appointment.

APPENDIX " C.

NOTES ON THE GUILDS AT PRESENT EXISTING IN BENIN.

A. Guilds affiliated to Iwebo.

1. Avbiogbe. This guild traces its origin to the second Yoruba migration. It consists of three sub-sections known as:-

Iyagboghae

Ewagha.

Edoghiria.

Each of these sub-sections had its own Okao, those in Iyagboghae and Ewagha were appointed by the Oba. but the Okao of Edoghiria was hereditary. The Okao Iyagboghae is regarded as the head of the Guild. When the Oba allotted land it was the function of the Avbiogbe to go and demarcate the boundaries. They were therefore regarded as expert witnesses in land cases. In addition they were town-criers and announced any decision or law made by the Oba. At 'Ugie' ceremonies the Avbiogbe hold a stick across the road while all the title-holders dance. Those who have completed their title pass under the stick, those who have not yet completed their title must pass round.

2. Emadase. According to tradition Oba Esigie made war against the Attah of Idda. When he had conquered him all the Oba's followers started to plunder. The Oba announced that they might take slaves, beads, cows or any other valuables for themselves but that they were to bring to him all food-crops. The pillage went on until the country was devastated and the Oba's followers could find no food. The Oba having made a 'corner' in food stuff then proceeded to sell food to his followers in exchange for the slaves and other valuables which they had collected. With the slaves thus acquired he formed the Emadase guild. They are Oro Dancers and perform certain rites at Ugie ceremonies. Oba Eweka II created the non-hereditary title of Obabaifo Gbagbon in this Guild.

3. Isepokin. It is said that Ogiame, the son of

Name	Nature of service.	Title of Headman	How appointed
Ererrie	Guardians of Oba's wives	Uso	By appointment
Ivbiemezi	Ceremonial farmers	Odionwale	By seniority
Ogunimefo	Blacksmiths to the harem	Odionwale	- do -
Iwarame	Butchers	Rhondor	By appointment
Ibiterive	Repairers of harem	Odionwale	By seniority
Iwehiane	Dividers of sacrificial animals.	Odionwale	- do -
Iriamila	Cow herds	Okao	- do -
Iwenogan	Priests to the harem	Olotu	By appointment.

APPENDIX "C."

NOTES ON THE GUILDS AT PRESENT EXISTING IN BENIN.

A. Guilde affiliated to Iwedo.

1. Avbiogbe. This guild traces its origin to the second Yoruba migration. It consists of three sub-sections known as:-
Iyagboghas
Iwagha.
Edoghira.
Each of these sub-sections had its own Okao, those in Iyagboghas and Iwagha were appointed by the Oba, but the Okao of Edoghira was hereditary. The Okao Iyagboghas is regarded as the head of the Guild. When the Oba allotted land it was the function of the Avbiogbe to go and demarcate the boundaries. They were therefore regarded as expert witnesses in land cases. In addition they were town-criers and announced any decision or law made by the Oba. At 'Ugie' ceremonies the Avbiogbe hold a stick across the road while all the title-holders dance. Those who have completed their title pass under the stick, those who have not yet completed their title must pass round.
2. Iwada. According to tradition Oba Esigie made war against the Atan of Idda. When he had conquered him all the Oba's followers started to plunder. The Oba announced that they might take slaves, beads, cows or any other valuables for themselves but that they were to bring to him all food-crops. The pillage went on until the country was devastated and the Oba's followers could find no food. The Oba having made a 'corner' in food stuff then ordered to sell food to his followers in exchange for the slaves and other valuables which they had collected. With the slaves thus acquired he formed the Iwada Guild. They are Oro dancers and perform certain rites at Ugie ceremonies. Oba Eweka II created the non-hereditary title of Obaife Obafe in this Guild.
3. Iagokiri. It is said that Ogiame, the son of

APPENDIX "D".

MINOR TITLES IN THE THREE SOCIETIES.

(A). OGIE UKOR N'IWEBO.

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Eriyo | 12. Osia |
| 2. Obasoyen | 13. Inene |
| 3. Uso | 14. Arasokun |
| 4. Esenuan | 15. Obasayo |
| 5. Osanaiye | 16. Osonaiye |
| 6. Unionyen | 17. Obama jagbonrhia |
| 7. Obasogie | 18. Ayobagbon |
| 8. Edosoma | 19. Obazuhumuwa |
| 9. Obakhamwaiye | 20. Ovientaba |
| 10. Obamedo | 21. Enoha |
| 11. Obaruduagbon | 22. Ebalogban. |

(B). EKHAIME N'IWEGUAE.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ehanire | 13. Ohonba |
| 2. Eranoyan | 14. Eranuwen |
| 3. Ogwa | 15. Oghator |
| 4. Exama | 16. Ehana |
| 5. Asuen | 17. Esa |
| 6. Obayangbon | 18. Aro |
| 7. Obahanye | 19. Otome |
| 8. Uwaya | 20. Ewaen |
| 9. Obadagbonyi | 21. Obadoloagbonyi |
| 10. Efobasota | 22. Osamunyinoba |
| 11. Ikuobasonyeme | 23. Osawagbon. |
| 12. Uwoyo | |

(C). EKHAIME NIBIWE.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Imasogie | 7. Isasamoye |
| 2. Arase | 8. Ehondor |
| 3. Osogwa | 9. Idukpaiye |
| 4. Eholor | 10. Osajogben |
| 5. Ebagwa | 11. Agbonbayeme |
| 6. Obaraiwe | 12. Obadolaiye. |

ALPHABETICALLY IN THE THREE SECTIONS.

(A). OLIGOMER NITRATES.

1.	Brivo	12.	Osia
2.	Obasoven	13.	Inene
3.	Uso	14.	Arasom
4.	Asenmen	15.	Osasovo
5.	Osamaiye	16.	Osamaiye
6.	Unionven	17.	Osam Jigboroda
7.	Obasogie	18.	Avobagben
8.	Edosoma	19.	Obasuhunwa
9.	Obachanwaiye	20.	Ovintaba
10.	Obamefo	21.	Enona
11.	Obanubagben	22.	Edalagben.

(B). EXHAUSTIVE NITRATES.

1.	Ebanire	13.	Ohonba
2.	Eremoyan	14.	Eremoyan
3.	Ogwa	15.	Oghator
4.	Exama	16.	Whana
5.	Asen	17.	Bas
6.	Obayagben	18.	Aro
7.	Obahanye	19.	Otome
8.	Uways	20.	Ewan
9.	Obadagbonyi	21.	Obadagbonyi
10.	Efobasota	22.	Osamuyinoba
11.	Iknobasoyeme	23.	Osawagben.
12.	Uwoyo		

(C). EXHAUSTIVE NITRATES.

1.	Imasogie	7.	Isasomoye
2.	Arasa	8.	Enondor
3.	Osoywa	9.	Idukpaiye
4.	Eholer	10.	Oasjogben
5.	Ebagwa	11.	Agbonbayeme
6.	Obatime	12.	Obatime

(

APPENDIX "E".

EGHAEVBO TITLES IN UZAMA VILLAGES.

(A). UZEBU.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Eson | 5. Obuda |
| 2. Esama | 6. Ezomozelu |
| 3. Obakponmene | 7. Ezomogbene |
| 4. Ezabayor | 8. Ogunsonyen. |

(B). USELU EGWADAIKEN.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Iyashere | 5. Aiyobahan |
| 2. Eson | 6. Oshodin |
| 3. Obamarhiaye | 7. Esere |
| 4. Eribo | |

(C) USELU EGWAIYIBA.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Esama | 7. Aiyobajogbe |
| 2. Eson | 8. Uso |
| 3. Uwangue | 9. Eholor |
| 4. Ine | 10. Obasogie |
| 5. Obazuaiye | 11. Osagiobator |
| 6. Obahiagbon | |

(D) URUBI

- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| 1. Eson | 3. Ohanero |
| 2. Ehiero | 4. Isama |

(E) IDUMU-OLOTON.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Ehelema | 4. Elemurogho |
| 2. Oduse | 5. Ulara |
| 3. Ikpetuema. | 6. Olague. |

NOTE:- All the titles which exist in Benin City are said also to exist in the Uzama Villages, but those listed above are those at present in existence.

UIGHUR TITLES IN UZBEK VILLAGES.

(A). UZBEK.	
1. Esen	5. Opuda
2. Kuma	6. Esenozin
3. Oshkonnene	7. Esenogbene
4. Esabayor	8. Oshnashen.
(B). UZBEK UZBAYK.	
1. Iyashere	5. Aiyoban
2. Esen	6. Oshodin
3. Oshamshaye	7. Esere
4. Eribo	
(C). UZBEK UZBAYK.	
1. Esama	7. Aiyobajobe
2. Esen	8. Uao
3. Uwanfue	9. Eholor
4. Ine	10. Oshogis
5. Oshamshaye	11. Oshogobator
6. Oshagbon	
(D). UZBEK	
1. Esen	3. Oshagbo
2. Eshero	4. Isama
(E). UZBEK UZBAYK.	
1. Esama	4. Eshagbo
2. Oshag	5. Ushag
3. Ishagbon.	6. Oshag.

NOTE:- All the titles which exist in Uighur City are said also to exist in the Uighur Villages, but those listed above are those at present in existence.

Envian who was the principal opponent of Agamiyan, was a worker in leather. After Ogiame, had allowed Oba Ewedo to enter the city he and his children became the principal leather workers in Benin, but in the time of Oba Esigie the Oba sent people to learn the trade from Ogiame. When they had been trained they formed a new guild known as the Isepokin. This guild makes all ceremonial leather work except the throne known as 'Ekete' which is still made by Ogiame.

The senior member of the Edion grade is the head of the guild but he is called the Oka, the man next after him being known as the Eholor and third as the Ine.

4. Igbesanvban. The Igbesanvban are the wood and ivory carvers. This guild is said to have been formed by Ewuare. In this guild there are three title-holders known as the Eholor, the Obasoyen, and the Ine Igbesanvban. All are appointed by the Oba, but the last two appointments are made on the recommendation of the Eholor.

5. Igwamaton. The Igwamaton are the blacksmiths. They are reputed to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. This guild is divided into four-sections as follows:-

<u>Sub-section.</u>	<u>Nature of Service</u>	<u>Titles.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>How appointed</u>
Iguenekwa	Makers of ceremonial 'Ada' and 'Eben'	Ine Igwama - ton Eholor		By appointment "
Inyemugiem	Makers of 'Osun (Iron trees used on juju Shrines) & large lamps used by the Oba	Obazuwaiye Ine Eholor Okao		Hereditary Appointment "
Ugboha	Makers of small hand lamps and of bells	Obasogie Okao		Hereditary Appointment
Oguniwegie	General blacksmiths	Eholor		- do -

The head of the whole guild is in the Ine Igwamaton.

(Notes:- There are also blacksmiths attached to Ibiwe, but these are separate).

6. Odioma. From this guild came the ceremonial executioners who performed executions at human sacrifices. Victims for sacrifice were selected by the Oshodin and the

Enavian who was the principal opponent of Agamiyan, was a worker in leather. After Ogiame, had allowed Oba Ewede to enter the city he and his children became the principal leather workers in Benin, but in the time of Oba Ewede the Oba sent people to learn the trade from Ogiame. When they had been trained they formed a new guild known as the Isepoikin. This guild makes all ceremonial leather work except the throne known as 'Ikete' which is still made by Ogiame.

The senior member of the Edeon grade is the head of the guild but he is called the Oka, the man next after him being known as the Eholor and third as the Ine.

4. Igbesanyan. The Igbesanyan are the wood and ivory carvers. This guild is said to have been formed by Ewure. In this guild there are three title-holders known as the Eholor, the Obaoyan, and the Ine Igbesanyan. All are appointed by the Oba, but the last two appointments are made on the recommendation of the Eholor.

5. Igwamaton. The Igwamaton are the blacksmiths. They are reputed to have come from Iwe with Agamiyan. This

guild is divided into four-sections as follows:-

Sub-section.	Nature of Service	Titles.	How appointed
Igwenekwa	Makers of ceremonial 'Ada' and 'Eben'	Ine Igwama - ton Eholor	By appointment
Iyemungiem	Makers of 'Owan' (Iron trees used on Ojuu Shrine) & large lamps used by the Oba	Ine Obaoyan Ine Eholor Oka	Hereditary Appointment
Uyoba	Makers of small hand lamps and of bells	Obaoyan Oka	Hereditary Appointment
Oguniweyie	General blacksmiths	Eholor	- do -

The head of the whole guild is in the Ine Igwamaton. (Notes:- There are also blacksmiths attached to Ibiwe, but these are separate).

6. Odiame. From this guild came the ceremonial executioners who performed executions at human sacrifices. Victims for sacrifice were selected by the Odiadin and the

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✓

Elema from among the prisoners in 'Ewedo' the Oba's prison. Those prisoners who were not required for human sacrifice were generally released and were known as Isekan. They wore a cowrie tied round their ankle and in the event of the supply of prisoners running out one of these ex-prisoners would be taken.

The head of the Odioma was the Okao who was appointed by the Oba but he had to be a member of the Ukebo society, as only members of this society were allowed to participate in human sacrifice. The ceremonial of these executions was strictly prescribed, even as to such details as the way in which the executioner should hold the sword. It was also important that no mention should be made of the fact that the victim was to be killed. The words used being "where is Odioma, where is he? He knows what to do". The executioner would then step forward and carry out the execution. Any infringement of the ritual was looked upon as tantamount to murder.

7. Ikpema. This is the guild of drummers. There are many different kinds of drum and each drum has its own subsection, but many of them live in the villages. The Omuemu is the head of all drummers in Benin. This is an hereditary title.

8. Igbuzebu. It is said that when Orhogbua was Oba he was absent from Benin for a very long time on an expedition to the sea coast. He left his eldest son who afterwards became Oba Ehengbuda at Urelu. The Edaiken, as the eldest son of the Oba is called, obtained a slave from Ijebu-Ode who was a great dancer and the Edaiken decided to learn the dance. On the Oba's return, Akere, a member of Iweguae, reported to the Oba that, during his absence, the Edaiken had been dancing the Oro dance. This dance is forbidden to the Edaiken, as its performance by him would imply that he did not wish his father to return. The Oba sent for the Edaiken who offered to ring the dancers to Benin to prove that it was not 'Oro' that he had been dancing.

Before .. /

Prisoners from among the prisoners in 'Uredo' the Oba's prison.
These prisoners who were not required for human sacrifice
were generally released and were known as Isagun. They were
a couple tied round their ankle and in the event of the
supply of prisoners running out one of these ex-prisoners
would be taken.

The head of the Oba was the Oba who was appointed
by the Oba but he had to be a member of the Uredo society,
as only members of this society were allowed to participate
in human sacrifice. The ceremonial of these executions was
strictly prescribed, even as to such details as the way in
which the executioner should hold the sword. It was also
important that no mention should be made of the fact that
the victim was to be killed. The words used being "where is
Oba, where is he? He knows what to do". The executioner
would then step forward and carry out the execution. Any
infringement of the ritual was looked upon as tantamount to
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he was absent from Benin for a very long time on an
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the eldest son of the Oba is called, obtained a slave from
Igbu-Ode who was a great dancer and the Oba decided to
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Oba had been dancing the Oro dance. This dance is
forbidden to the Oba, as the performance by him would
imply that he did not wish his father to return. The Oba
sent for the Oba who offered to ring the dancers to
Benin to prove that it was not 'Oro' that he had been dancing.
before...

Before leaving Uselu, the ⁴Edaiken, told his mother that he was going to Benin to prove his innocence. If she heard one shout she would know that all was well, but if she heard more than one shout she would know that he had been found guilty. The Edaiken was popular with the people of Benin and when he arrived with his dancers they greeted him with a shout. He then performed the dance and the people, seeing that the accusation against the Edaiken was false, gave another cheer. The Edaiken's mother hearing this second shout and believing that her son had been killed threw herself down a well. In the mean while the people of Benin seized the false informer Akere and killed him. It is said that from that time members of Iweguae have been reluctant to go to Uselu. ✓

Each Oba has his band of Uzebu dancers and certain of the title-holders have their own bands but before they can form a band they must give a man to the Oba to be put in his Uzebu company. The Odionwele is the head of Igbuzabu.

9. Iwefevben. According to tradition, while Oba Ewuare was in exile his principal companions were Ake, Ogan and Okwahe. Ake carried a bow and arrow, Ogan a spear and Okwahe native medicine. After Ewuare became Oba, Ake went to Isi and became a ju-ju but his bow and arrow were sent to Benin and the Oba formed a company called Iwefevben to keep these relics of his friend. At the Isiokwo festival at which the Oba makes sacrifice to the instruments of war, the Iwefevban, with the Iluobi company from Isi who made poison for the arrows, produce these relics before the Oba. The Odionwele is the head of this guild, but the holder of the Erio title who is in charge of other relisce of Ewuare is in charge of the Ake ju-ju in Benin.

10. Iwoki. According to tradition the founders of this guild were the first Europeans to reach Benin. They are known locally as Avan and Uti. It is said that at that time the Oba was hvaing trouble with the Uzamas and consulted the Europeans as to the best method of dealing with them.

Before leaving Ussu, the Akaike, told his mother that he was going to Benin to prove his innocence. If she heard one about she would know that all was well, but if she heard more than one about she would know that he had been found guilty. The Akaike was popular with the people of Benin and when he arrived with his dancers they greeted him with a shout. He then performed the dance and the people, seeing that the accusation against the Akaike was false, gave another cheer. The Akaike's mother hearing this second about and believing that her son had been killed threw herself down a well. In the mean while the people of Benin seized the false informer Akere and killed him. It is said that from that time members of Iweguae have been reluctant to go to Ussu.

Each Oba has his band of Ussu dancers and certain of the title-holders have their own bands but before they can form a band they must give a man to the Oba to be put in his Ussu company. The Odionwele is the head of Igbozuba.

9. Iwefevben. According to tradition, while Oba Ewurere was in exile his principal companions were Ake, Ogan and Okwame. Ake carried a bow and arrow, Ogan a spear and Okwame native medicine. After Ewurere became Oba, Ake went to Ibi and became a ju-ju but his bow and arrow were sent to Benin and the Oba formed a company called Iwefevben to keep these relics of his friend. At the Ibioko festival at which the Oba makes sacrifice to the instruments of war, the Iwefevben, with the Ibioko company from Ibi who made poison for the arrows, produce these relics before the Oba. The Odionwele is the head of this guild, but the holder of the title who is in charge of other relics of Ewurere is in charge of the Ake ju-ju in Benin.

10. Iyobi. According to tradition the founders of this guild were the first Europeans to reach Benin. They are known locally as Iyan and Uti. It is said that at that time the Oba was having trouble with the Ussu and consulted the Europeans as to the best method of dealing with them.

It was agreed that at the next Ugie ceremony Avan and Uti should stand on either side of the Oba, armed with their pistols, which were of course unknown in Benin. If the Uzamas were truculent one of them should be shot 'pour' encourage les autres'. The scheme went according to plan and one of the Uzamas was shot and the others were brought to heel. Since that time members of Iwoki stand at either side of the Oba at Ugie ceremonies unless the Edaiken and the Ojomo are present. If they are present the Ojomo stands on the Oba's right and the Edaiken on his left.

Before the expedition the Iwoki always lodged any Europeans who visited Benin. They were also astrologers and weather prophets. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

11. Iwogun. This guild, said to have been formed by Oba Ewuare, are caretakers of the Evbonedo and Evbogun ju-ju shrines. Their head is the Odionwele.

12. Ogbelaka. Ogbelaka holds a peculiar position. It consists of a number of guilds, each with its special function to perform for the Oba, but all these guilds join together to render special services at the Ugie ceremonies. Ogbelaka may possibly be a survival of one of the hamlets which formed the original Benin. It is said that in the time of Oba Ozolua, Ogbelaka was ruled over by a man called Ilekidì who became very powerful and rivalled the Oba. He was finally conquered and killed by the Oba and all his people were scattered. Ogbelaka, as at present constituted dates from the reign of Oba Esigie. During his reign, his brother Arhwaran who was Onogie of Udo rebelled against the Oba. He had got possession of a certain ceremonial bead known as 'Ivieokpagabru' and the Oba made war against him to recover this bead. The Oba's mother sent some of her slaves to accompany the Oba to the war, which lasted for many years. At last the Oba was victorious and Arhwaran threw himself into the lake known as Odighiri Arhwaran, but before doing so he had put a curse on the bead 'Ivieokpagbaru'. When the Oba arrived at Udo he found the Uwangué and the Eribo

It was agreed that at the next Ugie ceremony Awan and Lili should stand on either side of the Opa, armed with their pistols, which were of course unknown in Benin. If the Uamas were triumphant one of them should be shot 'poor' encourage the others. The scheme went according to plan and one of the Uamas was shot and the others were brought to heel. Since that time members of Iwoko stand at either side of the Opa at Ugie ceremonies unless the Iwakken and the Ojomo are present. If they are present the Ojomo stands on the Opa's right and the Iwakken on his left.

Before the expedition the Iwoko always lodged any Europeans who visited Benin. They were also astrologers and weather prophets. The Odonwelle is the head of the guild. 11. Iwoko. This guild, said to have been formed by Opa Eware, are caretakers of the Iwokedo and Iwokedu shrines. Their head is the Odonwelle.

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At last the Opa was victorious and Arhuan threw himself into the lake known as Ogbelaka, but before doing so he had put a curse on the bead 'Iviekpabara'. When the Opa arrived at Udo he found the Iwokedo and the Iwokedu

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quarreling for possession of the bead, but he took it from them and put it on. Arhwaran's curse took effect and Esigie became deranged in his mind. In order to conceal the Oba's condition, his mother's slaves formed round him and began to dance and to sing so that no one could get near the Oba to observe his condition. In this way they brought the Oba back to Benin where he gradually regained his sanity. The Oba's mother asked for the return of her slaves but the Oba, saying that they had rendered a great service to him, refused and formed them into a guild and sent them to live in the deserted Ogbelaka. These slaves were the forefathers of the guild known as Esonokwa. At certain ceremonies they come with others from Ogbelaka to perform a dance in commemoration of their previous service. In this section of Ogbelaka there are three titles:-

Oshian	}	Held alternatively by a member of Iwebo and a member of Ogbelaka.
Agona		
Azelu		Hereditary.

Although the Esonokwa were the first to settle in the new Ogbelaka, they are not now the senior, this position is held by the Ewa. The Ewa were priests of the Evbonedo ju-ju and are said to have come from Ife. At first they settled at Usehin but later removed to Benin and settled in Idumiwebo but were later removed to Ogbelaka. It is said that Uhuoba and six others at first removed to Ogbelaka. The Uhuobis who is an Eghaevbo N'Ogbe comes every morning with six other men from Ogbelaka and perform a certain ceremony for the Oba. Until this ceremony has been performed it is said that day has not dawned and the Oba may see no one and may perform no ceremonies.

In addition to the Uhuoba, who is appointed by the Oba from among the Iwebo, there are now two other titles, created by the present Oba, among the Ewa. These are Ogbonoba and Obamugie.

The third section in Ogbelaka is called Izegbo. It is said, there was much sickness among the Esonokwa in Ogbelaka,

quarreling for possession of the bead, but he took it from
 them and put it on. Ataturam's curse took effect and Opa's
 became deranged in his mind. In order to conceal the Opa's
 condition, his mother's slaves formed round him and began to
 dance and to sing so that no one could get near the Opa to
 observe his condition. In this way they brought the Opa back
 to Benin where he gradually regained his sanity. The Opa's
 mother asked for the return of her slaves but the Opa, saying
 that they had rendered a great service to him, refused and
 formed them into a guild and sent them to live in the
 deserted Ogbelaka. These slaves were the forefathers of the
 guild known as Esonokwa. At certain ceremonies they come with
 others from Ogbelaka to perform a dance in commemoration of
 their previous service. In this section of Ogbelaka there are

three titles:-

- Oshiam } Held alternatively by a member of Iwebo and
- Agona } a member of Ogbelaka.
- Azela } Hereditary.

Although the Esonokwa were the first to settle in the new
 Ogbelaka, they are not now the senior, this position in held
 by the Ewa. The Ewa were priests of the Ebonedo ju-ju and
 are said to have come from Ibe. At first they settled at
 Uashin but later removed to Benin and settled in Idumiwobo but
 were later removed to Ogbelaka. It is said that Unoba and
 six others at first removed to Ogbelaka. The Unobas who is
 an Ebonedo ju-ju comes every morning with six other men from
 Ogbelaka and perform a certain ceremony for the Opa. Until
 this ceremony has been performed it is said that day has not
 dawned and the Opa may see no one and may perform no
 ceremonies.

In addition to the Unoba, who is appointed by the Opa
 from among the Iwebo, there are now two other titles, created
 by the present Opa, among the Ewa. These are Ogbonoba and

Oshamete.

The third section in Ogbelaka is called Iwebo. It is
 said, there was much sickness among the Esonokwa in Ogbelaka,

So Oba Esigie went to Idumiwegie to make sacrifice and find out the cause of the sickness. When he had done so he demanded that a doctor called Izegbo should be sent to live in Ogbelaka. Idumowegie at first refused but the Oba then asked for his money back in the form of the animals which he had sacrificed to the juju. As the animals had already been killed and Idumiwegie had none to replace them, they finally agreed to the Obas request and sent Izegbo to live in Ogbelaka. The Odionwele is the head of Izegbo.

Next come two closely related sections known as Ikpewini and Ileha. They claim to have come from Ilaje in the Okitipupa Division and to have been living in Ogbelaka before its destruction by Oba Ozoluwa. They were then driven out but later returned. They are dancers.

In Ikpewini there is a title known as Unwana, which is held by appointment. There used to be two titles, Uwa and Alusi, in Ileha but these are now extinct and the Odionwele is the head of this branch.

The Iviawo also claim to have come from the Okitipupa Division, this time from Ugbo. They had the special power of detecting witches. This was done by cracking a certain nut, if the kernel was black the person was guilty of witch-craft, but if the kernel was white and chalky, he was innocent. This was the final test for a witch, and was considered more efficacious than ~~the~~ sasswood. The head of this section was an Okao.

The Isasa were founded by Oba Ewuara and originally lived in Iwebo but were later removed to Ogbelaka. They were shield-bearers, to the Oba. There were several titles among this section, all of which were held by appointment. They were:-

- Ilukoton
- Ilukohi
- Isagbwa
- Ekeoghae
- Okoroghae.

The Ogaegware carry Adas and guard the Oba at the Ugie ceremonies. Their head is the Iyalodin. This title is held by appointment.

The Ogbozu were related to the Oba. Their duty is to carry drinks to the title-holders at Ugie ceremonies. The Odionwele is the head of this section.

The Evboyanyan were grooms when the Oba had a stable of horses. Their head is the Okao.

At a ceremony known as Orhu the Oba's mother prepares a feast for the Oba and title-holders. This is the only occasion on which the Oba's mother is allowed to cook. It is supposed to commemorate a feast prepared by Esigie's mother before he left for the Udo war. At this feast the Emahe, who are a part of Esonokwa, share out the food.

13. Igun Erovbon. (Igweromo). The Igun Erovbon are said to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. They are workers in brass and were official recorders in brass of matters of historic interest. They also worked in terra-cotta. Each Oba has a symbol of which he is known so that by looking at an Old piece of Brass the Igun Erovbon can tell to what Oba it refers and to what incident in his reign. At one time only a few of them are held. They are all said to be hereditary. They are:-

Ine Igun Erovbon.

Ehanire

Obadolaiye

Ehama

Akeniwa

14. Ogiefa N'Ozeben. Ozeben is said to have been one of the followers of Obanigodo, the first Yoruba prince to come to Benin country. After this dynasty died out in the reign of Ogiso, Ozeben's children, and the children of the other followers of Obanigodo formed the series of hamlets which were known as Ile and were found here by the second Yoruba migration. As representatives of the original inhabitants of

The Ogegwara carry arms and guard the Oba at the Ugie ceremonies. Their head is the Iyalodin. This title is held by appointment.

The Ogegwara were related to the Oba. Their duty is to carry drinks to the title-holders at Ugie ceremonies. The Odionwele is the head of this section.

The Iyoboyan were grocers when the Oba had a stable of horses. Their head is the Oko.

At a ceremony known as Oba's mother prepares a feast for the Oba and title-holders. This is the only occasion on which the Oba's mother is allowed to cook. It is supposed to commemorate a feast prepared by Esigie's mother before he left for the Uba war. At this feast the Uba, who are a part of Esigie, share out the food.

13. Iyan Iyobon. (Iyobon). The Iyan Iyobon are said to have come from the Iyobon. They are workers in brass and were official recorders in brass of matters of historic interest. They also worked in terra-cotta. Each Oba has a symbol of which he is known as that by looking at an old piece of brass the Iyan Iyobon can tell to what Oba it refers and to what incident in his reign. At one time only a few of them are held. They are all said to be married.

any. they are:-

The Iyan Iyobon

Oba's

Oba's

Oba's

Oba's

14. Oba's. Obas are said to have been one of the following in Obas, the first Yoruba prince to come to Benin country. After this dynasty died out in the reign of Oba, Obas's children, and the children of the other followers of Obas formed the series of Obas which were known as the and were found here by the second Yoruba migration. As representatives of the original inhabitants of

the land, they became priests of the 'Otor' or land jujus. The head of Ozeben's family is known as Ogiefafa N'Ozeben and is the priest of the Aruogha ju-ju. This title is hereditary.

15. Ogiefafa N'Omuekpo. Omuekpo is said to have been a descendant of Ozeben. Originally he was a priest of the land ju-ju but he and his brothers were deprived of their rights which were given to the Ihogbe in the time of Oba Esigie. The head of the guild is the Ogiefafa N'Omuekpo, an hereditary title. They are now diviners for the Oba.

16. Ogiefafa N'Ezele. The story is exactly the same as that of Omuekpo. The Ogiefafa title is hereditary.

17. Ogiefafa N'Oronbator. As above.

18. Ogiefafa N'Aigobahi. As above.

19. Ekhegie. This is another unit which traces its origin to the earliest times. It was here that Ojioba, who is supposed to have carried from Ife the magical snail-shell which had the power of creating land, is said to have settled and it is here that the Ikhure ju-ju representing the spot where the snail-shell was buried, is situated. This is the parent land ju-ju throughout Benin territory. The title Ojioba is an hereditary title and the holder of it is the priest of 'Ikhure'.

Also living in Ukhegie, which is just outside the Wall, is the Ine Ogun. He is said to have been put here by Oba Eweuare, and his special function was to supply oil to the Edaiken on his way to and from Uselu to see the Oba. This title is also hereditary.

20. Owina N'Edo. This is the guild of close weavers. It is said to have been formed by Oba Ohen. There are two titles, both of which are held by appointment. They are:-

Esama Ego

Obazouna.

21. Iviakpen. It is said that while Eweuare was banished from Benin, he fell asleep in the Forest. When he awoke he found that he had been lying on a bao-constrictor while a leopard was lying along a branch above his head.

The last, they became priests of the 'Gator' or last Gator.
The head of Gashan's family is known as Gashan's Gashan and
is the priest of the 'Gashan' Gashan. This title is hereditary.
15. Gashan's Gashan. Gashan is said to have been a
descendant of Gashan. Originally he was a priest of the last
Gashan but he and his brothers were deprived of their rights
which were given to the Gashan in the time of Gashan.
The head of the family is the Gashan's Gashan, as hereditary.
title. They are now divested for the Gashan.

16. Gashan's Gashan. The story is exactly the same as
that of Gashan. The Gashan title is hereditary.

17. Gashan's Gashan. As above.

18. Gashan's Gashan. As above.

19. Gashan's Gashan. This is another name which traces its
origin to the earliest times. It was given to Gashan, who
is supposed to have carried from the Gashan's Gashan
which had the power of creating life. He said to have carried
and it is here that the Gashan's Gashan representing the Gashan
where the Gashan's Gashan was buried, is situated. This is the
parent line Gashan's Gashan. The title
Gashan is an hereditary title and the holder of it is the
priest of 'Gashan'.

Also living in Gashan, which is the Gashan's Gashan,
is the Gashan. He is said to have been the Gashan's Gashan
Gashan, and his special function was to say all to the
Gashan and to say from Gashan to Gashan. This
title is also hereditary.

20. Gashan's Gashan. This is the Gashan's Gashan.
It is said to have been the Gashan's Gashan. There are two
titles, each of which are said to be hereditary.

Gashan's Gashan
Gashan's Gashan

21. Gashan's Gashan. It is said that while Gashan was
living from Gashan, he fell asleep in the Gashan. When he
awoke he found that he was dead and he was buried in the Gashan.

22. Gashan's Gashan. This is the Gashan's Gashan.

Ewuare killed both creatures and used the leopard to make sacrifice to his father. When he became Oba he ordered that an annual sacrifice should be made to commemorate this event and he formed a guild of leopard hunters whose duty it was to catch and keep leopards for sacrifice. At first they lived with the Iwebo in the middle of the town, but it was found inconvenient to have leopards in the middle of the town and the new guild which was called Iviakpen were given their own quarter. There are two branches of this guild living outside Benin, the one in Iyekogba, the other in Iyekikpoba. The senior Odionwele of these two branches moves into Benin and becomes the Okao of all Iviakpen.

22. Ivekpen. At the same time as Ewuare created a guild to capture leopards he created another guild to skin and butcher the leopards after sacrifice. This guild was known as Ivekpen. The flesh of the leopards was divided among the Iwebo society while the skin went to the Oba. The Odionwele, becomes the Okao in this guild.

23. Ivbiosa. The origin of this guild is the subject of dispute. Some claim that it came from Ife with the second migration, while others contend that Oba came down from heaven in the time of Oba Ewuare. It is closely connected with the Ivbiosuan guild in Iweguae. Both guilds are guilds of priests and appear to be a fertility cult. Once a year they hold a ceremony during which all pregnant women have to do out-side the walls. It is popularly supposed that during this ceremony a male priest, known as Izebo, gives birth to a child. Ivbiososa are particularly concerned with the Ora ju-ju. The head of the guild is the Osa, whose title is hereditary.

Both Ivbiososa and Ivbiosun are said to be peculiar in that they alone in Benin practiced cannibalism. According to one story Osa is said to have been an Ibo. Among other things he is priest of the Igun ju-ju which is worshipped by all smiths. According to tradition there were black-smiths in Benin before the arrival of the Portuguese. The iron one

Warare killed both creatures and used the leopard to make
sacrifice to his father. When he became Oba he ordered that
an annual sacrifice should be made to commemorate this event
and he formed a guild of leopard hunters whose duty it was to
catch and keep leopards for sacrifice. At first they lived
with the Iwobo in the middle of the town, but it was found
inconvenient to have leopards in the middle of the town and
the new guild which was called Iviskpen were given their own
quarter. There are two branches of this guild living outside
Benin, the one in Iyekopba, the other in Iyekikopba. The
senior Odionwale of these two branches moves into Benin and
becomes the Oba of all Iviskpen.

22. Ivekpen. At the same time as Warare created a
guild to capture leopards he created another guild to skin
and butcher the leopards after sacrifice. This guild was
known as Ivekpen. The flesh of the leopards was divided
among the Iwobo society while the skin went to the Oba. The
Odionwale, becomes the Oba in this guild.

23. Ivbioba. The origin of this guild is the subject
of dispute. Some claim that it came from Ifo with the
second migration, while others contend that Oba came down
from heaven in the time of Oba Warare. It is closely
connected with the Ivbioban guild in Iwagun. Both guilds
are guilds of priests and appear to be a fertility cult.
Once a year they hold a ceremony during which all pregnant
women have to go outside the walls. It is popularly
supposed that during this ceremony a male priest, known as
Isebo, gives birth to a child. Ivbioba are particularly
concerned with the Oba Ju-Ju. The head of the guild is the
Osa, whose title is hereditary.

Both Ivbioba and Ivbioban are said to be practitioners
that they alone in Benin practiced cannibalism. According to
one story Osa is said to have been an Ibo. Among other things
he is priest of the Ibo Ju-Ju which is worshipped by all
tribes. According to tradition there were black-antennae in
Benin before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Ibo one

would probaly come from Ibo country and it would not therefore be surprising to find an Ibo as the priest of the smith's juju, and if such were the case it would not be surprising to find that he practiced cannibalism. It has been suggested else where in this report that Benin may have been struck by a thunder bolt in the time of Oba Ewuare, and it is possible that the tradition that Oba came down from heaven refer to this event, the head of the smith's ju-ju becoming the prist of this new phenomenon.

24. Ikawe and Ibiwe N'Okwa. The Ikawa are the descendants of the Oba through the female line. They do not form a guild in the strict sense, as they never formed a geographic unit. They lived in various parts of Orenokwa, particularly in Idumibiwe and in Igwisi. It was forbidden for persons closely related to the Oba to become title-holders in the Societies and therefore the Ikawe had a title grade of their own known as Ogieologoro. Ikawa who had taken one of these titles were known as Ibiwe N'Ekwa.

The following is a list of the Ogieologoro titles:-

Idogun
Eson
Ezobor
Edaza
Uso
Eshogwa
Ana
Arala
Obaloza
Ekegwa
Iderogun
Obasogie
Ezomorogo
Idamaze
Ine
Obasohan.

It is said that the holders of all these titles with the

would probably come from Ibo country and it would not therefore be surprising to find an Ibo as the priest of the smith's juju, and if such were the case it would not be surprising to find that he practiced cannibalism. It has been suggested also where in this report that Benin may have been struck by a thunder bolt in the time of Oba Eware, and it is possible that the tradition that Oba came down from heaven refer to this event, the head of the smith's juju becoming the priest of this new phenomenon.

24. Ikwé and Ibiwé W'Okwa. The Ikwé are the

descendants of the Oba through the female line. They do not form a guild in the strict sense, as they never formed a geographic unit. They lived in various parts of Orenokwa, particularly in Idumibiwe and in Igwisi. It was forbidden for persons closely related to the Oba to become title-holders in the Society and therefore the Ikwé had a title grade of their own known as Ogiolgoro. Ikwé who had taken one of these titles were known as Ibiwé W'Okwa.

The following is a list of the Ogiolgoro titles:-

Idogun
Eson
Ezopot
Edeza
Uso
Eshogwa
Ana
Atala
Obalosa
Ekewa
Iketun
Obasogie
Esonorofo
Idamase
Ine
Osonohan.

It is said that the holders of all these titles with the

exception of the Ezobor title, are appointed by the Oba from among the Ikawe. The Ezobor title is hereditary. The story goes that the first holder of this title was a friend of Oba Ewuare. At that time Ewuare was very worried because he had no sons, but the Ezobor said that he knew of a medicine man at Uzia who could make medicine which would ensure that the Oba had sons. He went with the Oba to Uzia and persuaded the medicine man to make medicine for the Oba. The first medicine was made and given to one of the Oba's wives, who in due course produced a son. Medicine was made a second time and given to another wife who also produced a son, but while the medicine man was mixing the third lot of medicine it came on to rain and a drop of rain fell in the mortar in which the medicine was being ground. The medicine man wished to throw away the medicine and he said that a son produced by this medicine would kill the maker, but the Oba insisted on taking the medicine and the wife to whom it was given afterwards had a son who became Oba Ozoluwa. The medicine-man's prophesy came true as Oba Ozoluwa made war on Uzia and the medicine man was killed.

The Ezobor was rewarded for the part he had played in getting sons for the Oba by making his title hereditary.

The Idogun is the head of all the Ikawa, but the holder of the Eson title, one of the Eghaevbo N'Ore titles, is regarded as the head of Igwisi where many of the Ikawa live.

B. Guilds affiliated to Iweguae.

1. Ewaise. This guild, which comprises all the Oba's doctors, holds an intermediate position between the true guilds and the Societies. It really consists of a number of minor guilds each of which is divided into two parts known as Ebo and Ewaise. In making sacrifices for the Oba both the Ebo and the Ewaise join together. There are in most of the minor guilds a head of the Ebo and a head of the Ewaise. The titles among the Ebo are all hereditary. The minor guilds are constituted as follows:-

exception of the Ekor title, are appointed by the Oba from

among the Ikwe. The Ekor title is hereditary. The

story goes that the first holder of this title was a friend

of Oba Ewe. At that time Ewe was very worried because

he had no sons, but the Ekor said that he knew of a

medicine man at Uda who could make medicine which would

ensure that the Oba had sons. He went with the Oba to Uda

and persuaded the medicine man to make medicine for the Oba.

The first medicine was made and given to one of the Oba's

wives, who in due course produced a son. Medicine was made a

second time and given to another wife who also produced a son,

but while the medicine man was mixing the third lot of

medicine it came on to rain and a drop of rain fell in the

mortar in which the medicine was being ground. The medicine

man wished to throw away the medicine and he said that a son

produced by this medicine would kill the maker, but the Oba

insisted on taking the medicine and the wife to whom it was

given afterwards had a son who became Oba Olofin. The

medicine-man's prophecy came true as Oba Olofin made war on

Uda and the medicine man was killed.

The Ekor was rewarded for the part he had played in

getting sons for the Oba by making his title hereditary.

The Idogun is the head of all the Ikwe, but the holder

of the Ekor title, one of the Ekor's titles, is

regarded as the head of Ikwe where many of the Ikwe live.

2. Gula affiliated to Iwase.

1. Ewase. This title, which comprises all the Oba's

doctors, holds an intermediate position between the two

Gula and the Ekor. It really consists of a number of

minor Gula each of which is divided into two parts known as

Eko and Ewase. In making sacrifices for the Oba both the Eko

and the Ewase join together. There are in most of the minor

Gula a head of the Eko and a head of the Ewase. The

titles among the Eko are all hereditary. The minor Gula

are constituted as follows:-

<u>Minor Guild</u>	<u>Ebo Titles.</u>	<u>Head of Ewaise</u>	<u>How appointed.</u>
Iwegie	Igwezigbon	Otome	By appointment
		Obobaifo	- do -
Idumebo	Ehanika	Obahoware	- do -
	Obakpere		
	Eraluse		
Idumiwehen	-	Ozuwa	- do -
Evbionbama	Ojemese	Osagbaton	- do -
		Obayantor	- do -
		Alefoba	- do -
Iwotome	Edaigbon	Asohen	Hereditary
		Aloyohien	- do --
Iwese	Ebamawo	Odionwele	Seniority
Obakpe	Obadigie	Obamedo	By appointment
		Ogesoba	- do -
Etebite	Obariyese	Odionwele	Seniority
Ogadoloisa	Obadiaru	Odionwele	- do -
Ogovonramwe	Obakpe	Egwabayeye	By appointment
		Aigbobayi	- do -
Ogoekaka	Iyobaifo	Odionwele	Seniority
Ewasehia	-	Odionwele	- do -

The holder of the Otome title was always buried with the Oba.

In addition to the above mentioned branches of Ewaise there were many other branches living outside Benin.

2. Emehe. The Emehes performed certain secret ceremonies in connection with the Oba's harem. There are two sections in Benin, Emehes Iweguae and Emehes Iwonyimi. There was also another section living between Benin and Urelu who performed ceremonies for the Oba's mother and who also led the Edaiken to the palace before his installation as Oba. The two sections in Benin are led by an Okao appointed by the Oba.

3. Ehorhan. It is said that in the time of Oba Ewuare the Onogie of Udo was a very powerful man and that he obtained a tooth from every other Onogie in the Benin Kingdom and with them made a crown. Finally he decided to obtain a

tooth from the Oba but was killed by the Oba. His death was immediately followed by earth-quakes and storms. There was at that time a very famous native doctor living in Ora and the Oba sent to him to come and purify the land. He sent representatives to Benin and after they had made sacrifice the earth-quakes and other manifestations ceased. The people from Ora then asked to be allowed to return but they were not allowed to do so and were formed into the Ehorhan guild whose function it was to make sacrifice when the earth ju-ju had been defiled by incest or suicide. The head of the guild in an Okao.

4. Eben. This guild was formed by Oba Ewuare and performed certain ceremonies at the Oba's funeral. In the time of Oba Esigie the Oba requested them to make these ceremonies for his mother. They refused as they said the ceremonies were reserved for the body of Oba alone. Many of them fled from Benin and formed the village of Igueben in Ishan.

The guild was revived by Oba Akenzuwa I, and since that time each Oba has had his own section of the guild. Each section has its own Okao, the position being hereditary. The Okao of the section formed by Oba Akenzuwa I is the head of the whole guild.

5. Ewaisede. It is said that the Ewaisede were originally the head of all the Ewaise guilds, but that they quarrelled with Oba Ewuare who replaced them by the Iwegie. There are no titles among the Ewaisede, the Odionwele being their head.

6. Ikpokpan. The Ikpokpan were dancers who are said to have been brought to Benin by Oba Olua. The first person in the guild to become Ukor N'Iweguae becomes the Okao of the guild.

7. Isiemero. Tradition says that during his exile before he became Oba, Oba Ewuare travelled throughout the world. Two of his companions were named Ikewuwu and Eze. When he became Oba he gave these two men followers and sent

shoot from the Oba but was killed by the Oba. The death
was immediately followed by earth-quakes and storms. There
was at that time a very famous native doctor living in Oba
and the Oba sent to him to come and purify the land. He sent
representatives to him and after they had made sacrifices
the earth-quakes and other manifestations ceased. The people
from Oba then asked to be allowed to return but they were not
allowed to do so and were forced into the Oba. When the
function it was to make sacrifices when the earth had
been defiled by incest or suicide. The head of the guild in
an Oba.

4. Oba. This guild was formed by Oba Oba and
Performer certain ceremonies at the Oba's funeral. In the
time of Oba Oba the Oba requested them to make these
ceremonies for his mother. They refused as they said the
ceremonies were reserved for the body of Oba alone. Many
of them fled from Oba and formed the village of Igbo in
Iba.

5. The guild was revived by Oba Oba and since that
time each Oba has had his own section of the guild. Each
section has its own Oba, the position being hereditary. The
Oba of the section formed by Oba Oba is the head of
the whole guild.

6. Iwaka. It is said that the Iwaka were
originally the head of all the Iwaka tribes, but that they
quarrelled with the Iwaka who rejected them by the Iwaka.
There are no Iwaka among the Iwaka, the Oba being
their head.

7. Iwaka. The Iwaka were Iwaka who are said to
have been brought to Oba by Oba Oba. The Iwaka were in the
guild to become Oba, Iwaka because the Oba of the guild.

8. Iwaka. Tradition says that during the time
before he became Oba, Oba Oba travelled throughout the
world. Two of his sons were named Iwaka and Iwaka.
When he became Oba he gave them two new names, Iwaka and Iwaka.

Ikewuwu to live at Okha in Obajere District and kept Eze in Benin, giving him the title of Ekegbian. These men and their followers became the body-guard of the Oba and his police. They also carried out the execution of prisoners who were not used for human sacrifice. Among the guild in Benin there are the following titles:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>How appointed</u>
Ekegbian	By appointment
Amagizeme	Hereditary
Obadolaiye	"
Ejemisi	By appointment
Ine Isiemero	- do -
Obaruaiye	- do -
Eholor	- do -
Obasogie	- do --

8. Oguanogbe. Founded by Oba Akenzuwa I, the main function of this guild was to administer the ~~sass~~wood ordeal. The Oba had to approve the administration in every case, but in cases actually sent to them by the Oba it is said that the parties never returned. Until the time of the present Oba the Odionwele was the head of the guild, but the present Oba has created two titles in this guild, Osajobator and Obayantor.

9. Iwowa. The rivers of the Benin Kingdom were divided up between the Oba, the Edaiken and the Oba's mother and certain dues were paid by persons using the rivers. It was the duty of the Iwowa to receive these dues. Their head was the Ogwa N'Iwowa who was appointed from Iweguae. There was also an Okao.

10. Amufi. This guild, formed Oba Ewuare, had to capture the Fish Eagles which were used in sacrifice by the Oba. They had a certain secret method of tree-climbing and at important festival they performed an acrobatic dance in the top of a tall cotton tree. This could only be done within the walls of Benin City and since the last cotton tree within the walls fell down some years ago the dance has fallan

Ikewun to live at Okha in Oba's District and kept five in Benin, giving him the title of Ekeghian. These men and their followers became the body-guard of the Oba and his police. They also carried out the execution of prisoners who were not used for human sacrifice. Among the guilds in Benin there are the following titles:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>How appointed</u>
Ekeghian	By appointment
Amaghamo	Hereditary
Obadofayin	"
Ejemini	By appointment
Ime Isamero	- do -
Obatunji	- do -
Ehefor	- do -
Obasogie	- do -

8. Ogunmope. Formed by Oba Akenmope I, the main function of this guild was to administer the sacred oracles. The Oba had to approve the administration in every case, but in cases actually sent to them by the Oba it is said that the parties never returned. Until the time of the present Oba the Ogunmope was the head of the guild, but the present Oba has created two titles in this guild, Oasobator and Oasobator.

9. Iwona. The rivers of the Benue Kingdom were divided up between the Oba, the Ekeghian and the Oba's mother and certain dues were paid by persons using the rivers. It was the duty of the Iwona to receive these dues. Their head was the Oba's Iwona who was appointed from Iwona. There was also an Okeo.

10. Agbaji. This guild, formed Oba Iwona, had to capture the fish which were used in sacrifice by the Oba. They had a certain secret method of tree-climbing and at important festivals they performed an acrobatic dance in the top of a tall cotton tree. This could only be done within the walls of Benin City and since the last cotton tree within the walls fell down some years ago the dance has

into disuse. Their head, the Okao, is appointed by the Oba.

11. Iweoghene. The Oba received large quantities of yams by way of fines and confiscations. There was always a danger that a curse might have been put on these yams, so they were not used by the Oba himself but were used to trade with or as presents. The Iweoghene were the store-keepers of these yams. There were two titles in this guild, both of them being filled by appointment. They were Ikuobasoyeme and Ikueru.

12. Uhumuidumu. The original site of Benin is to the south-east of the present city. The members of Uhumuidumu are the caretakers of this original site which is now sacred bush into which only members of Uhumuidumu and of Iweguae are allowed to enter.

13. Unueru. It is said that when Oba Ewuare was exiled from Benin he set fire to the town. The town burnt for three days while Ewuare stood at Unueru and watched it burning. At last the Odionwele of Unueru protested and by pointing out that Ewuare might, after all become Oba, persuaded him to give him an Osun ju-ju which had the power to stop the fire. Since that time Unueru have kept the Osun juju and they also store the yams from the Oba's ceremonial farm. This ceremonial farm which is made each year consists of seven rows of seven heaps. The Odionwele is the head of Unueru.

14. Iboisa. The members of this guild are priests of the Oba's Osun ju-ju. They are connected with the Ewaise. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

15. Osuan. This is a guild of priests closely associated with the Ivbiosa in Iwebo. Like them they worship the Evbonedo ju-ju. The head of the guild is a priest who holds the hereditary title of Osuan.

16. Ihogbe. The founder of Ihogbe is said to have seen a brother of Agamiyan who came with him from Ifa. At first all the Ihogbe lived out-side the City wall with the Uzamas but later some of them were brought into Benin. They now

into disease. Their head, the Oke, is appointed by the Oba.

11. Iweohere. The Oba received large quantities of yams by way of fines and confessions. There was always a danger that a curse might have been put on these yams, so they were not used by the Oba himself but were used to trade with or as presents. The Iweohere were the store-keepers of these yams. There were two titles in this guild, both of them being filled by appointment. They were Ikobasoyame and Ikweru.

12. Umunidumu. The original site of Benin is to the south-east of the present city. The members of Umunidumu are the caretakers of this original site which is now sacred. Umunidumu and Ikweru are the only members of Umunidumu and Ikweru are allowed to enter.

13. Unneru. It is said that when Oba Ewuare was exiled from Benin he set fire to the town. The town burnt for three days while Ewuare stood at Unneru and watched it burning. At last the Odionwele of Unneru protested and by pointing out that Ewuare might, after all become Oba, persuaded him to give him an Ogun ju-ju which had the power to stop the fire. Since that time Unneru have kept the Ogun ju-ju and they also store the yams from the Oba's ceremonial farm. This ceremonial farm which is made each year consists of seven rows of seven heaps. The Odionwele is the head of Unneru.

14. Ibolas. The members of this guild are priests of the Oba's Ogun ju-ju. They are connected with the Ewias. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

15. Ogum. This is a guild of priests closely associated with the Ibolas in Iwebo. Like them they worship the Ewobede ju-ju. The head of the guild is a priest who holds the hereditary title of Ogum.

16. Ihobbe. The founder of Ihobbe is said to have been a brother of Aganyan who came with him from Ife. At first all the Ihobbe lived outside the city wall with the Umas but later some of them were brought into Benin. They now

consists of two parts those living outside the wall being led by the Ihama, those inside the wall by the Isekhure. It is said that during the war against the Attah of Idda, when the Iddas were investing Benin, the Oba ordered the Efa priests to go and make sacrifice to the land ju-jus which were outside the City wall. The Efas, fearing the enemy, refused but the Ihama volunteered to go and make the sacrifices. He and his followers dressed themselves in white and carried leaves in their mouths. They took with them wooden images which they managed to place in front of the shrines. The enemy, taking these images to be human concentrated their fire on them, and finding that they were apparently impervious to wound, took them to be immortals and fled. Ihama came back to Benin to report not only that he had made sacrifice to the ju-jus but that the enemy were in flight. When he arrived in Benin the Efa were making sacrifice to the land ju-ju in Benin but the Oba stopped them and said that in future the Ihama should make sacrifice to this ju-ju. The Ikhure ju-ju is now under his charge. This is a fertility ju-ju and all title-holders go to it when making their annual festival.

The following titles are held among the Ihogbe outside Benin:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>How appointed</u>
Ihama	Hereditary
Iletema	"
Idusimioba	"
Uhenuyi	By appointment
Obariyekagbon	" "
Obazuhumuwa	" "

In the part of this guild which is within Benin the following titles exist:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>How appointed</u>
Isekhure	Hereditary
Esegbure	"
Uhenuyi	By appointment
Ilegema	" "

consists of two parts those living outside the wall being led by the Ikama, those inside the wall by the Isokura. It is said that during the war against the Aka of Idda, when the Ikama were invading Benin, the Oba ordered the Aka priests to go and make sacrifices to the land Ju-Ju which were outside the City wall. The Aka, fearing the enemy, refused but the Ikama volunteered to go and make the sacrifices. He and his followers dressed themselves in white and carried leaves in their mouths. They took with them wooden images which they managed to place in front of the shrine. The enemy, taking these images to be human concentrated their fire on them, and finding that they were apparently impervious to wound, took them to be immortals and fled. Ikama came back to Benin to report not only that he had made sacrifice to the Ju-Ju but that the enemy were in flight. When he arrived in Benin the Aka were making sacrifice to the land Ju-Ju in Benin but the Oba stopped them and said that in future the Ikama should make sacrifice to this Ju-Ju. The Ikama Ju-Ju is now under his charge. This is a fertility Ju-Ju and all titles holders go to it when making their annual festival.

The following titles are held among the Iboe outside

Benin:-

<u>How appointed</u>	<u>Title</u>
Hereditary	Ikama
"	Ikama
"	Ikama
By appointment	Ikama
"	Ikama
"	Ikama

In the part of this table which is within Benin the

following titles exist:-

<u>How appointed</u>	<u>Title</u>
Hereditary	Ikama
"	Ikama
By appointment	Ikama
"	Ikama

<u>Title</u>	<u>How appointed.</u>
Uheloro	By appointment
Uhovbioba	" "
Idusimioba	" "

G. Guilds affiliated to Ibiwe.

7 1. Eruerie. The Eruerie hold a position between that of an ordinary trade guild and that of one of the Societies. They are said to have come from Ife with Agamiyan and to have been given charge of the Oba's wives and children. They claim that they were originally the senior guild but that, as Agamiyan was coming to Usama, his road was blocked by a fallen tree. The Eruerie only had small knives but the Avbiogbe had matchets and were able to cut through the trees and reached Usama first and were given the first place.

The Eruerie remained in charge of the Oba's harem, but after the arrival of Oba Ozoluwa's followers from ora, who were called Ibiwe, the ^{Ibiwe} began to play an increasingly important part in the care of the Harem and in the time of Oba Akenzuwa I the Ibiwe were given the status of a society. Never-the-less the Eruerie were and still are of importance, and no man can take a title in Ibiwe until he has become an Ukor Eruerie. Moreover in Eruerie itself there are four Eghaevbo N'Ogbe titles. These are Oshodin, Uso, Ezuako and Obazowa. Although the Oshodin ranks before the Uso in a joint meeting of Eruerie and Ibiwe, in Eruerie itself the Uso is the senior.

2. Ivbiemezi. The Ivbiemezi also claim to have come from Ife with Agamiyan. They appear to be a fertility cult and every year they make a ceremonial farm for the Oba at Ugbeku. This farm consists of seven rows of seven heaps of yams. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

3. Ogunimefo. The Ogunimefo were blacksmiths to the harem. They were more particularly look-smiths! The Odionwele was their head.

4. Iwarame. The Iwarame were sacrificial butchers and killed and butchered all animals offered for sacrifice,

How appointed.	Title
By appointment	Uheleoro
" "	Uheleoro
" "	Uheleoro

G. Gilda appointed to Ibiwe.

1. Erwerie. The Erwerie hold a position between that of an ordinary trade guild and that of one of the Societies. They are said to have come from Ibiwe with Agamiyan and to have been given charge of the Opa's wives and children. They claim that they were originally the senior guild but that, as Agamiyan was coming to Usama, his road was blocked by a fallen tree. The Erwerie only had small knives but the Adigbo had machetes and were able to cut through the trees and reached Usama first and were given the first place. The Erwerie remained in charge of the Opa's harem, but after the arrival of Opa Odoawa's followers from ora, who were called Ibiwe, the ^{Ibiwe} began to play an increasingly important part in the care of the harem and in the time of Opa Akenwa I the Ibiwe were given the status of a society. Never-the-less the Erwerie were and still are of importance, and no man can take a title in Ibiwe until he has become an Ukor Erwerie. Moreover in Erwerie itself there are four Ekeleho W'Oba titles. These are Odohin, Udo, Ekele and Odoke. Although the Odohin ranks before the Udo in a joint meeting of Erwerie and Ibiwe, in Erwerie itself the Udo is the senior.

2. Ivokemele. The Ivokemele also claim to have come from Ibiwe with Agamiyan. They appear to be a fairly old and every year they make a ceremonial farm for the Opa at Ukeke. This farm consists of seven rows of seven heaps of yams. The Odokele is the head of the guild.

3. Ogumale. The Ogumale were blacksmiths to the harem. They were more particularly look-afterers! The Odokele was their head.

4. Iwarame. The Iwarame were sacrificial butchers and killed and-battered all animals offered for sacrifice,

except leopard. Every Eghaevbo should send a son to join the Iwarame. There are two titles in this guild both of which are held by appointment. They are Ehondor and Isasamoyan.

5. Ibierive. This was the guild which was responsible for carrying out all repairs to the walls of the Harem. They were forbidden to marry outside their own guild unless a certain purification ceremony was performed. The Odionwele is the head of the guild.

6. Iwehiaze. This guild divided animals sacrificed at the Agwo festival. They have a separate apartment in the Oba's Egware. This apartment is known as Ogwan. Originally it formed part of the Ibiwe apartment but it is said that Oba Eresonyen, going to Ogwan to find the Iwehiaze, found no one there as they had all gone to Ibiwe. The Oba therefore forbade Iwehiaze ever to go to Ibiwe again. The Odionwele is their head.

7. Iriamila. This guild is supposed to have come from Ife. They are the Oba's Cowherds. There was formerly a title called Aigobajegbe in this guild but it is not now held and the Okao is the head of the guild.

8. Iwenoga. This guild was founded by Oba Ehengbuda and were given the name of Iwenoga because they were useful to the Oba. They are priest of the Harem. The head of the guild is a title-holder called Olotu.

except leopard. Every *Ngazabo* should send a son to join the *Iwarame*. There are two titles in this guild both of which are held by appointment. They are *Shendor* and *Iasamoyan*.

5. Ibierve. This was the guild which was responsible for carrying out all repairs to the walls of the *Harom*. They were forbidden to marry outside their own guild unless a certain purification ceremony was performed. The *Odionwele* is the head of the guild.

6. Iwehaze. This guild divided animals sacrificed at the *Agwo* festival. They have a separate apartment in the *Oba's* *Eware*. This apartment is known as *Ogwan*. Originally it formed part of the *Ibwe* apartment but it is said that *Oba* *Bresonyen*, going to *Ogwan* to find the *Iwehaze*, found no one there as they had all gone to *Ibwe*. The *Oba* therefore forbade *Iwehaze* ever to go to *Ibwe* again. The *Odionwele* is their head.

7. Iriamila. This guild is supposed to have come from *Ife*. They are the *Oba's* *Cowherds*. There was formerly a title called *Aiyobajeye* in this guild but it is not now held and the *Okac* is the head of the guild.

8. Iwenogwa. This guild was founded by *Oba* *Shangbuda* and were given the name of *Iwenogwa* because they were useful to the *Oba*. They are priest of the *Harom*. The head of the guild is a title-holder called *Olotu*.

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